

A Commentary on Dionysius of Alexandria's
***Guide to the Inhabited World*, 174-382**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a literary commentary on Dionysius of Alexandria's *Guide to the Inhabited World*, verses 174-382.

The commentary focuses on two central aspects of the work. First, it compares Dionysius' portrayal of the inhabited world with representations by earlier and contemporary geographical authors, and attempts to trace the sources of his geographical and ethnographical material. Second, and more important for an understanding of the poem as a whole, the commentary highlights the relationship of the work to its poetic models. Dionysius drew much upon the work of Hellenistic poets, such as Aratus and Apollonius Rhodius, as well as upon Homer and Hesiod. I therefore focus largely upon the way in which he used such models to produce a literary map of a timeless world, consisting as much of the peoples and places of Greek myths as of the peoples and places which his contemporaries might have expected to encounter.

The introduction begins by examining the evidence for Dionysius' life and other works, before outlining the structure of the *Periegesis* itself. It then sets out the framework for the aims of the commentary by providing accounts of the geographical tradition and of the literary models on which Dionysius drew. Finally, the introduction presents a brief history of the text of the *Periegesis*, looking at the evidence of the manuscript tradition, the scholia, Latin translations, Greek paraphrases, and the twelfth-century commentary on the poem by Eustathius.

The commentary is accompanied by an English translation of the entire poem, and by an appendix of Homeric *hapax legomena* which occur within the verses studied in the commentary.

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INTRODUCTION

Dionysius of Alexandria's Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις was for centuries a text of widespread popularity, used to teach geography in schools and universities all over Europe, from Late Antiquity through to the nineteenth century. The last 100 years or so had seen a decline in its popularity, however, until recently. Within the last decade renewed interest in the poem has been evidenced by a number of published works, which have included two new editions of the text, the first since 1882, and translations of the poem into German and French.¹

Not surprisingly, given the poem's long-lived popularity, recent attention has been focused largely upon the *Nachleben* of the text. There has been some exposition of the view of the οἰκουμένη presented within the poem,² but there has been no close study of its language and style, and what these aspects of the poem might indicate about Dionysius and his aims in the Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις. The following commentary is intended to provide such a study.

Before any examination of the detail of the text, however, a brief introduction is needed to Dionysius himself, his life and works, and the place of the Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις within the geographical and literary traditions. As a means of introducing certain further points of reference in the commentary itself, I shall also briefly discuss the history of the text, which has recently been treated at length elsewhere.³

¹Editions: I. O. Tsavari, *Dionysiou Alexandreos oikumenes periegesis, kritike ekdose* (Ioannina, 1990a); K. Brodersen, *Dionysios von Alexandria: Das Lied von der Welt* (Olms: Hildesheim etc., 1994). The edition of Brodersen is accompanied by a German translation. The French translation is by C. Jacob, *La description de la terre habitée de Denys d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1990).

²C. Jacob, 'L'oeil et la mémoire: sur la Periégèse de la Terre habitée de Denys,' in C. Jacob and F. Lestringant (edd.), *Arts et Légendes d'Espaces* (Paris, 1981), pp. 21ff.

³I. O. Tsavari, *Histoire du Texte de la Description de la Terre de Denys le Périégète* (Ioannina, 1990b).

Dionysius

A biography of the poet, which is transmitted in the fifteenth-century manuscript Vaticanus Chisianus R. IV. 20, and is hence known as the *Vita Chisiana*, provides the fullest extant account of Dionysius' life.⁴ It contains little, however, in the way of detail:

Γένος Διονυσίου τοῦ Περιγητοῦ⁵

Διονύσιος ὁ Περιγητῆς υἱὸς μὲν Διονυσίου ἦν, γένει
Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐκ πολιτείας ἐνδόξου. τοῖς δὲ τῶν
αὐτοκρατόρων ἦν χρόνοις, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
ποιήματι φησι (355).

Ῥώμην τιμήσαν, ἐμῶν μέγαν οἶκον ἀνάκτων.
ἐξηγούμενος δὲ τὰ Μηδικὰ φανερώς ὁμολογεῖ προγενέστερον
αὐτοῦ τὸν Αὔγουστον γεγονέναι, ἡττηθῆναι γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
πάλιν τοὺς Πάρθους ἐκτίνοντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κράσσου δίκην, ὥς
ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς φησί (1051).

ἀλλ' ἔμπης κατὰ δῆριν ἀμαιμακέτους περ ἑόντας
Αὔσονίου βασιλῆος ἐπεπρήνεν ἀκωκή.
σαφές τοῦτο ποιεῖ λέγων τὴν † κηρυναίων † ἥτταν †
λουκτούλου † τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ πρότερον
δολοφονηθέντος. πῶς δὲ καὶ διὰ τί, προιόντες ἀποδείξομεν.

γέγραπται δὲ {καὶ} αὐτῷ καὶ Λιθιακῶν βιβλία τρία,
Διοσημιῶν τε καὶ Γιγαντείων ἕτερα, καὶ κατὰ τινας
Ὀρνιθιακῶν· νοθεύουσι γὰρ αὐτά τινες, Διονυσίου τοῦ
Φιλαδελφέως αὐτὰ λέγοντες. τὰ δὲ Λιθικά μᾶλλον
ἀποδέχονται διὰ τὸ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι χαρακτῆρα. τὰ δὲ
Βασσαρικά διὰ τραχύτητα ποσὴν αὐτοῦ χωρίζοντες
ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς τὸν Σάμιον.

⁴Two shorter biographies have also survived, the one transmitted with the text or the scholia, and the other with Eustathius' commentary.

⁵I reproduce the text of the most recent edition of the *Vita Chisiana* as published by R. Kassel in his article 'Antimachos in der Vita Chisiana des Dionysios Periegetes', in C. Schäublin (ed.), *Catalepton: Festschrift für Bernhard Wyss zum 80. Geburtstag* (Basel, 1985), pp. 69ff.

Verses 355 and 1052 of the *Periegesis* are cited as evidence that the poet lived under the Roman empire. We are also told that Dionysius was the name of his father. Alfred Klotz⁶ therefore identified his father with the Dionysius of Alexandria, described in the Suda as having lived in the second half of the first century and as having served as a librarian and imperial secretary.⁷ Klotz argued that in a thirteenth-century reference to the Periegete as ‘Dionysius Ionicus’ by Guido of Pisa,⁸ *Ionicus* is a corrupted form of *Dionysii*, so that Guido’s words should read ‘Dionysius, *son of the Dionysius* who was librarian at Rome.’ Klotz’s argument is perhaps not entirely convincing, but it would date the author of the *Periegesis* to the beginning of the second century and thus fit with the information provided by two acrostics discovered within the poem in the late 19th century by Gustav Leue.⁹ These acrostics appear in verses 109-134¹⁰ and 513-532 of the *Periegesis*. The first tells the reader of the poem clearly the name and provenance of the author:

⁶A. Klotz, ‘Zu Dionysios Periegetes’, *RhM* 64 (1909), pp. 474f.

⁷Διονύσιος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὁ Γλαύκου υἱός, γραμματικός· ὅστις ἀπὸ Νέρωνος συνῆν καὶ τοῖς μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ καὶ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν προὔστη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀποκριμάτων. ἦν δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος Παρθενίου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ, μαθητὴς δὲ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ὃν καὶ διεδέξατο ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. (=1173 Adler)

Three Dionysii are identified in the Suda as authors of *Oikoumene Periegeses*: the Dionysius of Corinth referred to in the previous note (=1177 Adler); a Dionysius of Miletus (= 1180 Adler); and a Dionysius of Rhodes (= 1181 Adler).

⁸The full notice reads: *de qua Sibari refert Iuvenalis satiricus, latius tamen Dionisius Ionicus qui Romae bibliothecarius per annos fuit XX et orbem metro heroico graeco fame descripsit.*

⁹G. Leue, ‘Zeit und Heimath des Periegeten Dionysios’, *Philologus* 42 (1884), pp. 175-8.

¹⁰Leue originally held that the acrostic began EMH, but he later emended μακρὸν to πολλὸν in 110, to read ΕΠΗ (‘Noch einmal die Akrosticha in der Periegesis des Dionysios’, *Hermes* 60 [1925], pp. 367f.). This emendation was first proposed by August Nauck (‘Zu Dionysios Periegetes’, *Hermes* 24 [1889], p. 325). There is no evidence, however, to support the alteration of the text. Indeed the only reason for adopting any such emendation lies in the difficulty of reading EMH as part of the acrostic. C. Wachsmuth argued that the initial letters of verses 109-111 were not in fact intended to form part of the acrostic (‘Zu den Akrostichen des Dionysios Periegetes’, *RhM* 44 [1889], pp. 151ff.), and Tsavari is probably right not to print them as such.

- (109) Εκ δ' ὀρέων Σικελῶν Κρήτης ἀναπέπταται οἶδμα
Μακρὸν ἐπ' ἀντολίην Σαλμωνίδος ἄχρι καρήνου,
Ἦν Κρήτης ἐνέπουσιν ἐώϊον ἔμμεναι ἄκρην.
Δοιαὶ δ' ἐξείης προτέρω φρίσσουσι θάλασσαι,
Ἰσμαρικοῦ πνοιῇσιν ἐλαυνόμεναι βορέας,
Ορθὸν φυσιόωντος, ἐπεὶ κατεναντία κεῖται·
- (115) Ναῦται δὲ πρῶτην Φαρίην ἄλλα κικλήσκουσιν,
Υστατον ἐς πρηῶνα τιταινομένην Κασίοιο·
Σιδονίην δ' ἐτέρην, ὅθι τείνεται ἐς μυχὰ γαίης
[Ἴσσοῦ ἄχρι πτόλιος, Κιλίκων χώραν παραμείβων,]¹¹
Ἰσικὸς ἐλκόμενος βορέην ἔπι πόντος ἀπείρων,
- (120) Οὐ μὲν πολλὸν ἀνευθεν ἰσόδρομος· ἄγχι γὰρ ἦδη
Υσπληγι δνοφερῇ Κιλίκων ἀποπαύεται αἴης·
Τῆμος ἐπὶ ζέφυρον στρεπτὴν ἐπερεύγεται ἄλμην.
Ὡς δὲ δράκων βλοσυρωπὸς ἐλίσσεται, ἀγκύλος ἔρπων,
Νωθής, τῷ δ' ὑπὸ πᾶσα βαρύνεται οὔρεος ἄκρη
- (125) Ἐρχομένῳ τὼς κεῖνος ἐλίσσεται εἰν ἀλὶ κόλπος,
Νήχυτος, ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα βαρυνόμενος προχοῇσιν.
Τοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ προχοῆς Παμφύλοι ἀμφινέμονται,
Οσσον ἐπιπροβέβηκε Χελιδονίων ἐπὶ νήσων·
Σῆμα δ' ἔχει ζεφύρου Παταρηίδα τηλόθεν ἄκρην.
- (130) Φράζεο δ', ἐκ κείνου τετραμμένος αὖτις ἐπ' ἄρκτοις,
Αἰγαίου πόντοιο πλατὺν πόρον, ἔνθα τε κῦμα
Ρησσόμενον νήσοισι περιβρέμεται Σποράδεσσιν·
Οὐ γὰρ τις κείνῳ ἐναλίγκια κύματ' ὀφέλλει,
Υψόθι μορμύρων, ἕτερος πόρος ἀμφιτρίτης·

¹¹This verse is athetized by Leue with some foundation. It is absent from Parisinus Suppl. gr. 388, the oldest extant MS (on which see Tsavari, 1990b, *op. cit.* [above n. 3], pp. 163f.), and is not included in the translations of Avienus and Priscian.

The second acrostic dates the poem to the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). It also contains a somewhat obscure reference to Hermes:

- (513) Θηητὸς δέ τις ἐστὶ βαθὺς πόρος Αἰγαίοιο,
Εντος ἔχων ἐκατέρθεν ἀπειρεσίων στίχα νήσων,
Οσσον ἐπὶ στεινωπὸν ὕδωρ Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἑλλης,
Σηστὸς ὅπη καὶ Ἄβυδος ἐναντίον ὄρμον ἔθεντο.
Εὐρώπης δ' αἱ μὲν λαιῆς ὑπὸ νεύματι χειρὸς
Ρῶονθ' ἐξείης, Ἀσίης δ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κεῖνται,
Μῆκος ἐπ' ἀρκτώοιο τιταινόμεναι βορέαο.
- (520) Ἦτοι δ' Εὐρώπης μὲν Ἀβαντιάς ἔπλετο Μάκρις
Σκῦρος τ' ἠνεμόεσσα καὶ αἰπεινὴ Πεπάρηθος·
Ενθεν καὶ Λῆμνος, κραναὸν πέδον Ἥφαιστοιο,
Πέπταται, ὠγυγίη τε Θάσος, Δημήτερος ἀκτὴ,
Ιμβρος θρηϊκίη τε Σάμος, Κυρβάντιον ἄστυ.
- (525) Αἱ δ' ἀσίης πρώτην αἶσαν λάχον, ἀμφὶς ἐοῦσαι
Δῆλον ἐκυκλώσαντο, καὶ οὔνομα Κυκλάδες εἰσί·
Ρύσια δ' Ἀπόλλωνι χοροὺς ἀνάγουσιν ἅπασαι,
Ισταμένου γλυκεροῦ νέον εἶαρος, εὖτ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν
Ανθρώπων ἀπάνευθε κύει λιγύφωνος ἀηδών.
- (530) Νῆσοι δ' ἐξείης Σποράδες περὶ παμφαίνουσιν,
Οἷον ὅτ' ἀνεφέλοιο δι' ἡέρος εἶδεται ἄστρο,
Υγρὰ νέφη κραιπνοῖο βηισαμένου βορέαο.

The placement of this reference to Hermes within a passage which listed the islands of the Aegean including Imbros led Ulrich Bernays, among others, to believe that the poem was composed *ca.* 124, when

on his way from Asia to Greece, so Bernays suggests, Hadrian stopped at Imbros and was initiated into the mysteries of Hermes.¹²

Patrick Counillon has argued, however, that the *Periegesis* was written in the later years of Hadrian's reign, some time after the death of Antinous at Hermopolis in 130, when the emperor began to promote the cult of Hermes-Antinous. Isavella Tsavari similarly takes the acrostic as both a proclamation of faith in the deified Antinous and also a stamp intended by D. to date the *Periegesis* to just after Antinous' death in 130.

Kai Brodersen, on the other hand, has argued that the fact that the *Periegesis* contains no explicit reference to Hadrian's visit to Egypt, where Antinous met his death, indicates that it was written before 130. Brodersen has also suggested that D.'s mention of Trajan's victory over the Parthians in 1051-2 would only have been appropriate in the early years of Hadrian's reign, given that Cassius Dio tells us that the Parthian Games which Hadrian established in Trajan's honour, were abolished after a time.¹³ For Brodersen the mention of Hermes in the acrostic is connected with the fact that Hermes was the patron-god of education.¹⁴

Similarly, for Christian Jacob the reference to Hermes in the second acrostic is not intended as a play on any associations with the god which Hadrian or Antinous may have had, but as an allusion by Dionysius to his own role as a guide to the inhabited world.¹⁵

For both Brodersen and Jacob the argument that Dionysius' mention of Hermes is connected with the god's role as guide is tied up

¹²U. Bernays, *Studien zu Dionysios Periegetes* (Diss., Munich, 1905). Cf. J. Alsina, 'Panorama de la Epica Griega Tardia', *Estudios Clásicos* 16 (1972), pp. 139f.

¹³Dio 69, 2: τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανου ὅστ' ἔν τῳ κίονι αὐτοῦ κατετέθη, καὶ αἱ θεαὶ αἱ Παρθικαὶ ὀνομασθεῖσαι ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο· ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ αὕτη, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, κατελύθη.

¹⁴K. Brodersen, *op. cit.* (above n. 1), p. 10.

¹⁵C. Jacob, 1981, *art. cit.* (above n. 2), pp. 31f.

with the belief that the poem was composed as a school text. However, despite the fact that the *Periegesis* was to become popular as a school text, there is nothing to suggest that it was originally intended as such, as Jacob himself admits.¹⁶ Close study of the poem seems to suggest that it was, in fact, intended to appeal to a learned adult readership.

Given Dionysius' Alexandrian origin, it is worth bearing in mind that the Greek Hermes was there early identified with the Egyptian Thoth (see, e.g., Hdt. 2, 138). Indeed, before the first century B.C. the Graeco-Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus had emerged from the synthesis of these two divinities. Their synthesis was clearly aided by the fact that they shared certain roles. Thoth, like Hermes, acted as messenger of the gods and he was the guide of souls in the afterlife. Like Hermes again, he was associated with the moon. As the Egyptian moon-god, Thoth was primarily associated with time, fate, and the origins of universal order. He was also Reason, lord of knowledge and of language, and creator of heaven and earth.¹⁷ Hermes Trismegistus acquired these same identities and it is possible that Dionysius, who emphasises the order of the inhabited world, had in mind this syncretic deity. He is perhaps, therefore, alluding in the acrostic not so much to his own instructive role, as Brodersen and Jacob suggest, but to Hermes' role as creator of and guide to the οἰκουμένη.

The only remaining information about the poet to be gleaned from the *Vita Chisiana* is that he was the author of several other works including a *Lithiaca*, a *Gigantias*, a *Bassarica*, and an *Ornithiaca*. The *Suda* also indicates that the 'Periegete' was identified as the author of a *Lithiaca*:

¹⁶Jacob, 1981, *art. cit.* (above n. 2), pp. 57ff.

¹⁷See G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge, 1986), esp. pp. 22ff.

Διονύσιος, Κορίνθιος, ἐποποιός. Ὑποθήκας, Αἴτια ἐν βιβλίῳ
α', Μετεωρολογούμενα· καὶ καταλογάδην Ὑπόμνημα εἰς
Ἡσίοδον· Οἰκουμένης περιήγησιν δι' ἐπῶν. ταῦτα δὲ εὖρον καὶ
ἐν Διονυσίῳ τῷ τὰ Λιθιακὰ γράψαντι· πότερος οὖν αὐτῶν
οὐκ οἶδα (=1177 Adler).

However, no text of a *Lithiaca* ascribed to a Dionysius has survived and although an interest in stones is certainly shown by the 'Periegete' (see below on 316-19), it is impossible to say with any certainty that he was in fact the author of a work on the subject.

In 1973 Enrico Livrea published an edition of the fragments of a *Gigantias* and a *Bassarica* which had previously been ascribed to the 'Periegete'. Livrea convincingly refuted earlier claims that these works were by the same D. on the grounds that the language and style of the poems are quite distinct.¹⁸

As for the *Ornithiaca*, there has survived a prose paraphrase of a poem on birds which is said to have been composed by a certain Dionysius.¹⁹ The nature of the paraphrase makes it difficult, however, to identify the author of the original poem, and this poem is variously identified with the *Ornithiaca* ascribed to the 'Periegete' and with the *Ixeutica* ascribed to Oppian of Apamea.

Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις

1. CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE

The one work securely attributable to Dionysius thus remains the Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις. It has the following contents and structure:

¹⁸E. Livrea, *Dionysii Bassaricon et Gigantiadis Fragmenta* (Rome, 1973), p. 10.

¹⁹A. Garzya, *Dionysii Ixeuticon seu de Aucupio libri tres* (Leipzig, 1963).

<i>General Prologue</i>	(1-9)	<i>Ocean and Continents</i>
<i>Division of the continents</i>	(10-26)	
<i>Ocean</i>	(27-169)	<i>Division into Seas</i> (27-57) <i>Mediterranean</i> (58-168)
<i>Prologue to the continents</i>	(170-173)	
<i>Libya</i>	(174-269)	<i>Overall form</i> (174-183) <i>Pillars of Heracles to Cyrene</i> (184-210) <i>Interior</i> (211-221) <i>Nile and Egypt</i> (222-264) <i>Summary of remaining peoples</i> (265-268)
<i>Europe</i>	(270-446)	<i>Overall form</i> (270-280) <i>Pillars of Heracles to Rhine</i> (281-297) <i>Danube: north</i> (298-319) <i>Danube: south</i> (319-329) <i>Pillars of Heracles to Greece</i> (330-446)
<i>Islands</i>	(447-619)	<i>Invocation</i> (447-449) <i>Mediterranean islands: Pillars of Heracles to Hellespont</i> (450-537) <i>Hellespont to Sea of Azov</i> (538-553) <i>Ocean islands: Pillars of Heracles clockwise</i> (555-611) <i>Summary of remaining islands</i> (612-619)
<i>Asia</i>	(620-1165)	<i>Overall form</i> (620-651) <i>North: Don to Colchis</i> (652-694) <i>Colchis to Caspian Sea</i> (695-761) <i>Colchis to Hellespont</i> (762-798) <i>Hellespont to Syria</i> (799-880) <i>Prologue to southern Asia</i> (881-886) <i>South: form</i> (887-896) <i>Syria to Arabia</i> (897-961) <i>West of Erythraean sea</i> (962-969) <i>Syria to Persia</i> (970-1079) <i>Persia to Pillars of Dionysus</i> (1080-1165)
<i>Epilogue</i>	(1166-1186)	

2. DIONYSIUS AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

There is no real evidence to indicate which geographical sources Dionysius actually used in composing the *Periegesis*, but there was before him a long-established tradition of geographical writing, extending as far back as the sixth century B.C., when Scylax of Caryanda, an explorer in the service of the Persian King Darius, wrote the earliest recorded *periplous* in Greek. The text has not survived but is quoted by Hecataeus of Miletus, who is widely regarded as the most important of the Ionian logographers and who composed the earliest known *Periegesis*, describing in a clockwise direction, starting from the pillars of Heracles, the peoples and places of the coastal regions bordering on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, the islands of the Mediterranean, Scythia, Persia, India, Nubia, and Egypt. Although critical of Ionian geography Herodotus seems to have been to some degree indebted to both Hecataeus (2, 70ff.) and Scylax (3, 98-105). It was with Herodotus' incorporation of geographical and ethnographical material into his history of the Persian Wars, however, that geographical description seems to have first become independent of the itinerary-form.

Ephorus of Cyme in the fourth century B.C. composed a universal history, of which only fragments survive, but which also seems to have included geographical material and criticisms of the contributions of the Ionians before him. Contemporary with Ephorus was Eudoxus of Cnidus, whose *Περίοδος γῆς* incorporated not only descriptive geography and criticisms of earlier geographers, but also his own observations on the shape and size of the earth based on his studies in astronomy and geometry.

Advances in astronomy and geometry were made by Dicaearchus of Messana towards the end of the fourth century and Eratosthenes of Cyrene in the late third century, and are reflected in their own geographical works. Dicaearchus, like Eudoxus, wrote a *Περίοδος γῆς*. He was the first to divide the *οἰκουμένη* into four quarters according to a north-south meridian which ran through Egyptian Syene, and an east-west meridian which ran from the Pillars of Heracles through the Peloponnese and the Taurus Mountains. Eratosthenes seems to have been influenced by Dicaearchus but went further in his *Γεωγραφικά*, creating a network of longitudinal and latitudinal divisions, which allowed him to give the relative positions of various locations in his description of the world. Eratosthenes also drew the *οἰκουμένη* as divided into a number of geometrical figures, *σφραγίδες*, systematically describing the physical geography and peoples of each. Although many of the mathematical details of his work were criticized by the astronomer and geometer Hipparchus of Nicaea in the second century B.C., Eratosthenes' contribution to geography was immense.

It was also in the second century that Polybius distinguished geography from 'chorography', defining Book 34 of his historical treatise as the latter. This book contains detailed descriptions of places visited by Polybius, and for him the emphasis on practical detail set it apart from the geography of those such as Eratosthenes, which was primarily of a mathematical nature.

In the later Hellenistic period the Stoic philosopher Posidonius of Apamea wrote on astronomy, geometry, physical geography, and ethnography, among other things, maintaining the interdependence of all phenomena. He did not write a geographical treatise as such, but his work on the ocean seems to have included geographical and

ethnographical material, and his history seems to have contained descriptions of the physical geography of Spain and Gaul, both of which he had visited.

The most detailed and most complete work of ancient geography belongs of course to the Augustan age and Strabo. Strabo defined his description of the οἰκουμένη as a work of ‘chorography’ rather than geography, and this is reflected in his tendency to privilege what is now termed as human and physical geography over scientific theory. He does, however, devote the first two books of his work to discussion of the ideas of geometers such as Eratosthenes and Hipparchus.

The tradition of mathematical geography continues with Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus), a contemporary of Dionysius, who wrote various works on astronomy and a γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις. In Book 1 of this geographical treatise Ptolemy instructs the reader in how to draw a map of the world. He then proceeds to list the places and peoples of the οἰκουμένη together with co-ordinates marking longitude and latitude, giving only brief descriptions of significant sites. Ptolemy appears to have been the first to have systematically described the world in terms of longitude and latitude, and the γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις came to be the most important and widely consulted text on mathematical geography until the late Renaissance.²⁰

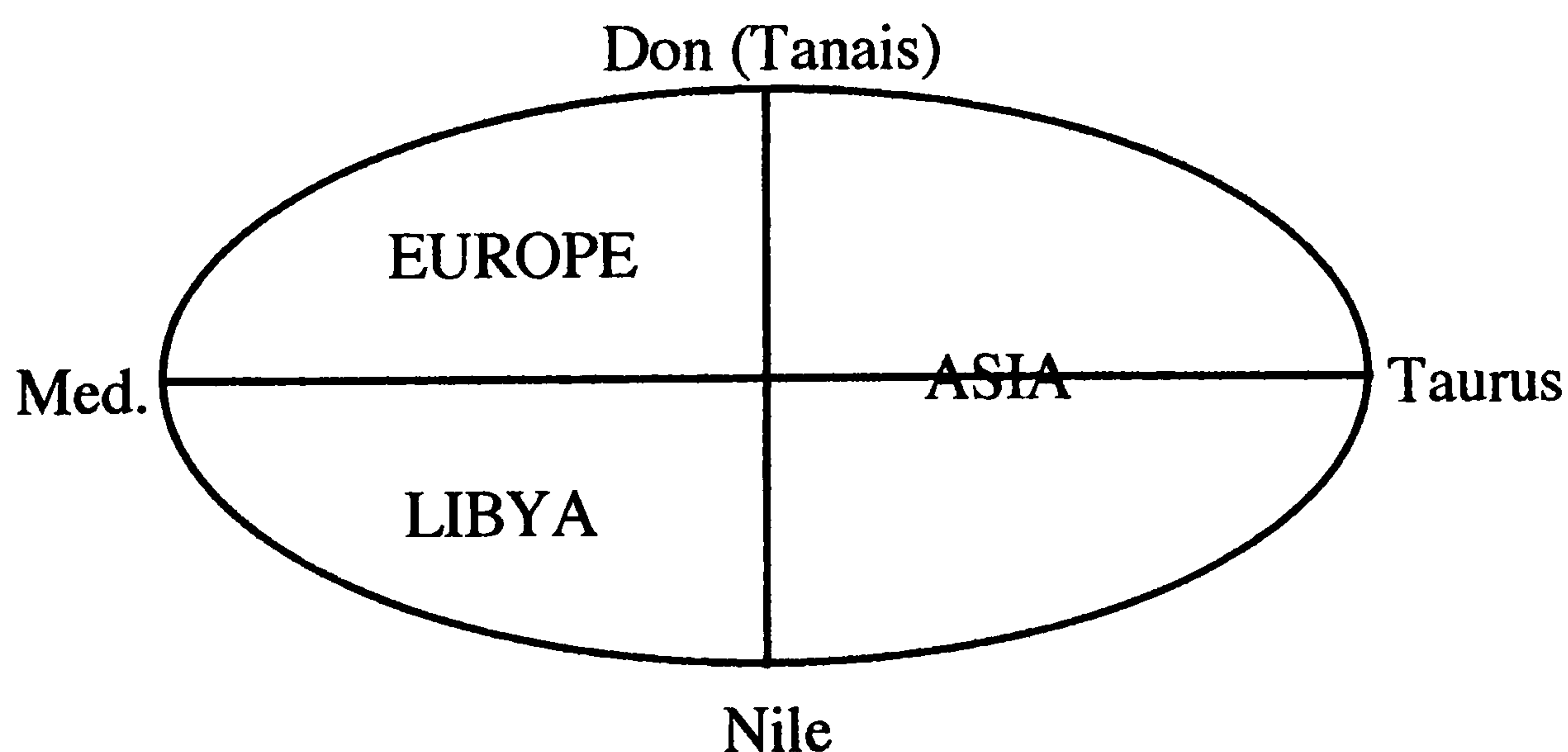
In Latin little specifically geographical literature is known. The only surviving Latin work dedicated to a description of the world is the *De chorographia*, written by Pomponius Mela in the first century; for the most part it lists peoples and places in the manner of the Greek *periploi*, and contains no mathematical geography except a brief outline of the inhabited world, its shape and structure. Pliny the Elder

²⁰For fuller discussion of the Greek geographical tradition see esp. P. Pédech, *La géographie des Grecs* (Rennes, 1976); C. Jacob, *Géographie et ethnographie en Grèce ancienne* (Paris, 1991).

refers to Mela more than once in his *Natural History*, of which Books 2 to 6 are dedicated expressly to geography, but throughout which various aspects of the physical world are described which might be said to pertain to geography. Those books of the *Natural History* which are given over to geographical description are, like Mela's work, reminiscent of the Ionian *periploi* in that they consist largely of lists of peoples and places.²¹

To what extent Dionysius relied on earlier geographical texts and to what extent, if any, he innovated upon previous descriptions of the οἰκουμένη is largely difficult to gauge. He appears to have taken his material from more than one source, so that the resulting picture is in some respects original to him.

In the opening verses of the poem Dionysius describes the inhabited world as not quite circular, but wider along the ecliptic than from north to south, like a sling (σφενδόνη εἰοικυῖα):



The background to this way of characterizing the shape of the inhabited world is somewhat obscure. Posidonius is cited as having

²¹On Roman geography see esp. C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Eng. tr.: Ann Arbor, 1991).

drawn this same comparison (FF 200-201 Kidd),²² and it may be that Dionysius used Posidonius as a source for his geography. However, there is little else in the poem to indicate that Dionysius' representation of the world was based specifically on Posidonius, and Dionysius' depiction of the οἰκουμένη later in the poem (271ff.) as divided into two κῶνοι, their bases joined, one apex pointing east and the other west, finds no parallel in Posidonius.

Hugo Berger traced the division of the οἰκουμένη into two κῶνοι back to the third century B.C. and Eratosthenes of Cyrene.²³ There are, however, essential differences between Eratosthenes' depiction of the οἰκουμένη and Dionysius', which make it impossible to assert that Eratosthenes was a source used directly by Dionysius (see below on 269ff.). Berger also notes that there is some correspondence between Dionysius' representation of Europe and that of Eratosthenes in that both describe the continent as having three south-facing peninsulas,²⁴ but again the distinction between Dionysius' definition of these three peninsulas and that of Eratosthenes makes it difficult to tie Dionysius conclusively to Eratosthenes (see below on 331-3).

There are various parallels between the geographies of Dionysius and Strabo, and it has been suggested that Dionysius depended on Strabo to a considerable extent.²⁵ It is in the descriptions

²²Eustathius noted the parallel between D. and Posidonius. See Posidonius F200b Kidd = Eustathius, *Comm. ad Homeri Iliadem*, 7, 446: τὴν δὲ οἰκουμένην γῆν Ποσειδώνιος μὲν ὁ Στωϊκὸς καὶ Διονύσιος σφενδονοειδῆ φασί; F201a Kidd = Eustathius, *Comm. in D.P.*, 1: ἐπάγει [ὁ Διονύσιος] πρὸς διόρθωσιν τὸ 'οὐ μὴν πᾶσα διαπρὸ περίδρομος', ἀλλὰ δηλαδὴ προμήκης, ὡς ῥηθήσεται, δίκην σφενδόνης. τοιαύτη γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα ἡ οἰκουμένη γῆ, καθὰ καὶ Ποσειδωνίῳ δοκεῖ.

²³H. Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 432f.

²⁴See the discussion of Eratosthenes, *Fr.* III B, 97 = Strabo 2, 4, 8 in H. Berger, *Die Geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes* (Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 342f.

²⁵See D.D. Greaves, *Dionysius Periegetes and the Hellenistic poetic and geographical traditions* (Diss. Stanford, 1994), pp. 61ff. It is worth remembering, however, that Strabo's *Geography* is not cited before the 6th century, and widespread interest in the work is attested really only from the 9th century on (G. Aujac, 'Strabon et son temps', in W. Hübner (ed.), *Geographie und verwandte Wissenschaften*, (Stuttgart, 2000), esp. pp. 134f.).

of specific regions that these parallels are obvious. Dionysius' outlines of the Black Sea (146ff.), Libya (174ff.), Iberia (287), the Peloponnese (404), and India (1130f.) are each similar to the descriptions of these regions by Strabo. In Strabo there can be found the comparisons of the Euxine to a Scythian bow (2, 5, 22), of Libya to a leopard-skin and to a trapezium (2, 5, 33), of Iberia to an ox-hide (2, 1, 30), of the Peloponnese to a plane-leaf (*ibid.*), and of India to a rhombus (2, 1, 22). Strabo, however, does not claim that these comparisons are his own. In fact he states specifically in the case of India that it was Eratosthenes who drew the country as a rhombus. It is also possible, if not likely, that such comparisons held greater currency at a time when maps were less easily accessible, so that with Strabo, as with Posidonius and Eratosthenes, it is difficult to show direct influence on Dionysius.

One of the most striking features of Dionysius' geography is its symmetry. Not only does he present an overall picture of symmetry between the continents, but he also draws parallels between peoples and regions to suggest a more complex set of symmetries. The notion that there was a symmetry between certain geographical features was not original to Dionysius. It can be seen in Herodotus' depiction of the course of the Nile as reflecting that of the Danube (2, 33).²⁶ Nevertheless, the extent to which Dionysius applies the idea of a symmetrical world is more unusual. He highlights several geographical parallels between Libya and Europe alone:

²⁶See J. Gould, *Herodotus* (London, 1989), pp. 85 and 89ff.; R. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 76ff.

Nile ~ Tanais

(230-1) ὅς ρά τε καὶ Λιβύην ἀποτέμνεται Ἀσίδος αἴης,
ἐς λίβα μὲν Λιβύην, ἐς δ' αὐγὰς Ἀσίδα γαῖαν.

(661-2) ὅστε καὶ Εὐρώπην ἀποτέμνεται Ἀσίδος αἴης,
ἐς δύσιν Εὐρώπην, ἐς δ' αὐγὰς Ἀσίδα γαῖαν.

Europe ~ Libya

(271-5) ὠυτός μὲν Λιβύης ῥυσμός πέλει, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἄρκτους
τέτραπται, καὶ τοῖος ἐπ' ἀντολίην πάλιν ἔρπει,
οἶος καὶ νοτίης Λιβύης ἐπὶ τέρμα βέβηκεν·
ἄμφω δ' ἴσον ἔχουσιν ἐπ' Ἀσίδα νείατον ἶχνος
ἢ μὲν πρὸς βορέην, ἢ δ' ἐς νότον.

Nasamones-Cyrene ~ Sybarites-Tarentum

(208-12) κείνον δ' ἄν περὶ χῶρον ἐρημωθέντα μέλαθρα
ἀνδρῶν ἀθρήσειας ἀποφθιμένων Νασαμώνων,
οὓς Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντας ἀπώλεσεν Αὔσονις αἰχμή.
Ἀσβύσται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι μεσήπειροι τελέθουσιν
καὶ τέμενος Λιβυκοῖο θεοῦ ψαμάθω ὑπο πολλῇ,
Κυρήνη τ' εὐίππος, Ἀμυκλαίων ἔδος ἀνδρῶν·

(372-7) ἔστι δέ τοι κάκεῖθι, Διὸς μέγα χωσαμένοιο,
δειλαίη Σύβαρις, ναέτας στενάχουσα πεσόντας,
μηναμένους ὑπὲρ αἴσαν ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ γεράεσσιν.
Σαυνῖται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι μέσσην χθόνα ναιετάουσι
καὶ Μαρσῶν θοὰ φῦλα· Τάρας δ' ἄλὸς ἐγγύθι κεῖται,
ἦν ποτ' Ἀμυκλαίων ἐπολίσσατο καρτερὸς Ἄρης.

Alexandria ~ Pallene

(259) φαίνονται σκοπιαὶ Παλληνίδος Εἰδοθεείης.

(327) ἔνθα μελισσοβότοιο κατὰ σκοπιᾶς Παλλήνης.

The number of parallels which Dionysius draws to suggest a detailed symmetry between the continents is not found in any earlier geographical text.

It is also worth noting, à propos the question of Dionysius' possible debts and affinities, that the picture of the οἰκουμένη with which he presents us is remarkably concise — the poem is only 1186 verses — and Dionysius' criteria for deciding which material to include within such a narrow compass can be seen to have been quite different from those which a geographer like Strabo, for example, might have employed.

3. LITERARY MODELS

What for so long had made it particularly difficult to give any secure dating to the poem was the fact that references to historical persons or events in the text are scarce and those few references that do appear are somewhat obscure. Just as Dionysius' description of the Roman defeat of the Parthians (1051-2) proved to be too vague to tie the poem to any specific point within the imperial period, so it has not been possible to tie the destruction of the Nasamones to which he refers to any specific Roman defeat of this tribe (see below on 208-9).

The οἰκουμένη with which Dionysius presents us is peopled not so much by historical persons as by gods, heroes and other figures from Greek myths: Dionysus (940 *et al.*) Odysseus (207 *et al.*), Achilles (545 *et al.*), Heracles (790 *et al.*), Medea (490 *et al.*), Diomedes (483), Alcinous (494) etc. Similarly, Dionysius' οἰκουμένη is occupied by numerous sites and cities which had a place in Greek myths as well as Greek history. In his description of Italy, for example, Dionysius focuses for the most part on the Greek colonies of

the peninsula, a number of which were no longer standing in the second century (see below on 339ff.), and he alludes to various traditions linking the peoples of the peninsula to a Greek past.

The allusions to Greek myths which pervade the poem serve to present the οἰκουμένη in a largely Hellenocentric perspective, and, perhaps more importantly, they also help to endow Dionysius' οἰκουμένη with a certain timelessness.

It is interesting to note that by the second century 'periegetic' seems to have come to mean 'systematic' and to have been used as almost a byword for 'scientific'. Athenaeus, for example, describes the precision and detail of Archestratus' work on gastronomy by likening it to *Periegeses* and *Periploi* in style (7, 278d). Again, Plutarch relates a discussion of the problem of why different types of wreaths were awarded at different athletic festivals, and yet the palm at all of these festivals (*Moralia* 723ff.). The periegete Praxiteles is brought into the discussion to reveal the ignorance of the rhetoricians dominating the floor, but when he explains the ubiquity of the palm through reference to Apollo, he is accused of failing to argue like the author of a history or a *periegesis*, and of descending instead to the use of mere rhetorical tricks, like the previous speakers, whose ignorance he was meant to show up:

(724D) ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὑπολαβὼν Καφισίας ὁ
Θέωνος υἱός, “ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γ’,” εἶπεν, “οὐχ ἱστορίας οὐδὲ
περιηγητικῶν ὁδῶδε βυβλίων, ἀλλ’ ἐκ μέσων ἀνεσπασμένα
τῶν Περιπατητικῶν τόπων εἰς τὸ πιθανὸν ἐπικεχείρηται, καὶ
προσέτι τραγικῶς μηχανὴν ἄραντες, ὦ φίλοι, δεδίττεσθε τῷ
θεῷ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας . . .”

Dionysius, however, makes no claim to be giving an

up-to-date or scientific account of the inhabited world and its peoples. On the contrary in a passage just over half way through the poem he disclaims physical travel, and, thereby, autopsy and the empirical approach which was usually associated with geography and *periegeses*. In verses 707ff. the poet, who is about to describe the Caspian Sea, says:

Ῥεία δέ τοι καὶ τήνδε καταγράφαιμι θάλασσαν,
οὐ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπάνευθε πόρους, οὐ νηϊ περήσας·
οὐ γάρ μοι βίος ἐστὶ μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηων,
οὐδέ μοι ἐμπορίη πατρώϊος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Γάγγην
ἔρχομαι, οἷά περ ἄλλοι, Ἐρυθραίου διὰ πόντου,
ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες, ἴν' ἄσπετον ὄλβον ἔλωνται,
οὐδὲ μὲν Ὑρκανίοις ἐπιμίσγομαι, οὐδ' ἐρεείνω
Καυκασίας κνημίδας Ἐρυθραίων Ἀριηνῶν·
ἀλλὰ με Μουσάων φορέει νόος, αἶτε δύνανται
νόσφιν ἀλημοσύνης πολλὴν ἄλα μετρήσασθαι
οὔρεά τ' ἥπειρόν τε καὶ αἰθερίων ὁδὸν ἄστρων.

Dionysius here highlights the literariness of his work by the very language of his claim, recalling a passage from Hesiod's *Opera et Dies*, also imitated by Callimachus (*Fr.* 178, 33 Pfeiffer), *Op.* 646ff.:

εὔτ' ἄν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τρέψας ἀεσίφρονα θυμὸν
βούλῃαι χρέα τε προφυγεῖν καὶ λιμὸν ἀτερπέα,
δείξω δὴ τοι μέτρα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
οὔτε τι ναυτιλίας σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν.
οὐ γὰρ πῶ ποτε νηὶ γ' ἐπέπλων εὐρέα πόντον,
εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὐβοίαν ἐξ Αὐλίδος, ἧ ποτ' Ἀχαιοὶ
μείναντες χειμῶνα πολὺν σὺν λαὸν ἄγειραν
Ἑλλάδος ἐξ ἱερῆς Τροίην ἐς καλλιγύναικα.

By alluding to the Hesiodic passage as he does here Dionysius is distancing himself from the materialism and low social status of merchants, and describing himself first and foremost as a poet. He is also asserting his literary affiliations.

Hesiod's didactic epic is an obvious model for Dionysius' poem as a whole. Dionysius borrows language, motifs, and subject matter from both the *Opera et Dies* and the *Theogonia*. Sometimes he recalls a passage from one or other of these poems in a deliberate allusion to the Hesiodic context, as at 186ff. (~ *Op.* 529ff.). More often he echoes the language and rhythm of a particular verse without any obvious direct appeal to its context, as, for example, at 226 (~ *Theog.* 791). On one occasion he cites the name of a river only otherwise attested in Hesiod, the Aldescus (see on 314).

Dionysius' language is largely Homeric. Parallels between the *Periegesis* and the Homeric poems vary widely in form and significance. Dionysius sometimes appears to have had simply the phonetics of a Homeric verse in mind, as at 224 (~ *Il.* 12, 428). More frequently he recalls Homeric clausulae. In doing so he may at times draw on the Homeric context, as at 189 (~ *Od.* 24, 250). Occasionally Dionysius echoes longer Homeric passages and can be seen to be drawing on these passages similarly as a means of enhancing the significance of his words, as at 341f. (~ *Il.* 15, 410ff.). Another way in which Dionysius points explicitly to the literariness of the *Periegesis* is by alluding to problems perceived in the interpretation of the Homeric texts, as in his reference to the Ethiopians at 179f. (~ *Od.* 1, 23f.). Similarly, Dionysius' frequent use of Homeric *hapax legomena* also indicates the literary nature of the *Periegesis* (see Appendix). Rarely Dionysius uses a Homeric *hapax* which is not earlier attested elsewhere, such as αὐχμήεσσα (189 ~ *Od.* 24, 250). More often,

however, the *hapax legomena* which are found in Dionysius are also to be found in Hellenistic poetry.

Dionysius' debt to the Hellenistic poets Callimachus, Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, Nicander, and Aratus in particular is significant. He echoes numerous words, phrases, and passages from each of these poets, often with a view to recalling their specific context, as at 183 (~ Nicander, *Ther.* 463f.), at 234 (~ Ap. Rhod. 1, 113f.), at 256ff. (~ Callim., *Hymns* 2, 93ff. and 3, 248ff.), at 271 (~ Theocritus, *Id.* 26, 23), and at 358 (~ Aratus, *Phaen.* 97).

Dionysius' imitation of *Argonautica* 1, 1f. in the opening verses of the *Periegesis* (D. 1-3, ἀρχόμενος . . . μνήσομαι ~ Ap. Rhod. 1, 1-2) seems to be indicative of this Hellenistic poet's importance for Dionysius, and, as Ewen Bowie has pointed out, Apollonius Rhodius' Books on the travels of the Argonauts were an obvious source of material for Dionysius' *Periegesis*.²⁷ Dionysius sometimes recalls Apollonius' descriptions of particular places, as at 315 (Ῥιπείοις ἐν ὄρεσσι(ν) ~ Ap. Rhod. 4, 287), and sometimes imitates Apollonian phrases for places and peoples, as at 185 (Μαυρουσίδος ἔθνεα γαίης ~ -ίδος ἦθεα γαίης, Ap. Rhod. 1, 1177 *et al.*).

More surprisingly perhaps, Dionysius' descriptions of geographical features are sometimes modelled upon Nicander's descriptions of snakes, as at 23 *et al.*, ἔρπει/ων (~ Nicander, *Theriaca* 159 *et al.*), and 286 ὀρόγκους (~ Nicander, *Alexipharmaca* 42). Dionysius also imitates the didactic language of Nicander's epics on snakes and poisons at 238 *et al.* (αὐδήσαιμι ~ Nicander, *Theriaca* 770), and of course the acrostic of 112-134 recalls the acrostic of *Theriaca* 345-353 (ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ).

²⁷E.L. Bowie, 'The Reception of Apollonius in Imperial Greek Literature', in M.A. Harder etc. (edd.), *Hellenistica Groningana* (4), *Apollonius Rhodius* (Peeters: Leuven etc., 2000), pp. 7f.

Of all the Hellenistic poets Dionysius owes most, however, to Aratus, whose didactic poem on the stars and constellations, like Hesiod's *Opera et Dies*, provides a model for the *Periegesis* as a whole. Aratus' *Phaenomena* (1154 verses) is of almost the same length as the *Periegesis*, and as Dionysius maps the inhabited world, so Aratus maps the skies. Dionysius' language contains numerous echoes of the *Phaenomena*. Often he seems to have had in mind the phonetics of an Aratean verse, as at 225 (~ Aratus 68). Often again he recalls Aratean clausulae, as at 176 (~ Aratus 61 and 231). He also borrows terms regularly applied by Aratus to the situation and movement of celestial phenomena and applies them to the situation and movement of terrestrial phenomena, terms such as ἔλκεται (199 *et al.* ~ Aratus 342 *et al.*). Similarities between Dionysius and Aratus may stem from a common dependence on the Homeric poems, as at 202 (~ Aratus 425f. ~ Homer, *Od.* 5, 331f.). But at least occasionally, Dionysius seems to have had in mind a specific Aratean imitation of Homer, as at 235 (~ Aratus 44 ~ Homer, *Il.* 18, 508).

A look at the closing passage of the *Periegesis* provides some idea of the extent of Dionysius' debt to Aratus:

(1170) αὐτοὶ γὰρ καὶ πρῶτα θεμεΐλια τορνῶσαντο
καὶ βαθὺν οἶμον ἔδειξαν ἀμετρήτοιο θαλάσσης·
αὐτοὶ δ' ἔμπεδα πάντα βίῳ διετεκμήραντο,
ἄστρα διακρίναντες, ἐκληρώσαντο δ' ἐκάστῳ
μοῖραν ἔχειν πόντοιο καὶ ἠπείροιο βαθείης.

These verses offer distinct echoes of the hymnal opening of Aratus' *Phaenomena*:

- (10) αὐτὸς γὰρ τά γε σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν
ἄστρο διακρίνας, ἐσκέψατο δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
ἀστέρας οἱ κε μάλιστα τετυγμένα σημαίνοιεν
ἀνδράσιν ὥράων, ὅφρ' ἔμπεδα πάντα φύωνται.

A third acrostic was found in the *Periegesis* less than 20 years ago by Patrick Counillon, which seems to affirm the importance of Aratus for Dionysius:²⁸

- (307) Στεινὸν ὁμοῦ δολιχόν τε, καὶ αὐτῆς ἔσχατα λίμνης.
Τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ ἐκτέταται πολυῖππων φύλον Ἀγαυῶν.
Ενθα Μελάγχλαινοί τε καὶ ἄνδρες Ἴππημολγοί,
Νευροί θ' Ἴππόποδες τε Γελωνοί τ' ἡδ' Ἀγάθυρσοι·
Ἡχι Βορυσθένης ποταμοῦ τετανυσμένον ὕδωρ,
μίσγεται Εὐξείνῳ, Κριοῦ προπάροιθε Μετώπου, . . .

The fact that the initial letter of the acrostic also introduces another form of the same word on the horizontal suggests that it was intentional. That the acrostic takes the form it does, Counillon argues, might be explained through reference to two earlier acrostics, one at *Il.* 24, 1ff. and the other at Aratus, *Phaen.* 783ff. The Homeric acrostic reads λευκή, and that of Aratus λεπτή. Similarities between the two earlier acrostics are perhaps more obvious than any they may share with the acrostic of Dionysius.²⁹ Nevertheless, Dionysius' στενή is, like λευκή and λεπτή, an adjective of five letters with the same metrical value and accentuation, as Counillon has noted. Furthermore, the Γ pattern created by the acrostic of Dionysius is also visible in Aratus:

²⁸P. Counillon, 'Un autre acrostiche dans la Périégèse de Denys', *REG* 94 (1981), pp. 514ff.

²⁹These similarities between the acrostics of Homer and Aratus are discussed in J.-M. Jacques, 'Sur un acrostiche d'Aratos' *REA* 62 (1960).

Λεπτὴ μὲν καθαρὴ τε περὶ τρίτον ἡμαρ ἐοῦσα
Εὐδῖος κ' εἶη, λεπτὴ δὲ καὶ εὖ μαλ' ἐρευθῆς
Πνευματὶή, παχίων δὲ καὶ ἀμβλείησι κεραΐαις
Τέτρατον ἐκ τριτάτοιο φόως ἀμενηνὸν ἔχουσα
Ἡὲ νότου ἀμβλύνετ' ἢ ὕδατος ἐγγὺς ἐόντος.

Aratus' acrostic seems to be something of a programmatic statement, serving to link him with Callim., who claims to have pursued λεπτότης in his own poetry (see esp. *Fr.* 1, 23ff.), and indeed praises Aratus for his λεπταὶ ῥήσιες (*A. P.* 9, 507 = Gow and Page, *Callim.* 56).³⁰ According to Counillon, this is where Dionysius' acrostic differs from that of Aratus. Counillon argues that Dionysius uses his acrostic not to make any programmatic statement, but to allude to the opening verses of *Iliad* 24:

Λῦτο δ' ἄγών, λαοὶ δὲ θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ἕκαστοι
Εσκίδναντ' ἰέναι· τοὶ μὲν δόρποιο μέδοντο
Υπνου τε γλυκεροῦ ταρπήμεναι· αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
Κλαῖε φίλου ἐτάρου μεμνημένος, οὐδέ μιν ὕπνος
Ἡρεῖ πανδαματῶρ, ἀλλ' ἐστρέφετ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα . . .

Dionysius' στενή appears in a passage describing the so-called 'Track of Achilles', a peninsula to the northwest of the Crimea, which lies close to the island of Leuce in the Black Sea, an island also connected with Achilles (see Commentary on 306). In fact the 'Track of Achilles' and the island of Leuce seem to have been sometimes confused. Dionysius' description of Leuce (541-6), then, so Counillon asserts, should be considered alongside his account of the 'Track of

³⁰On λεπτός as a literary term see G. O Hutchinson, *Hellenistic Poetry* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 77-84 & 278-354 & R. Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship from the beginnings to the end of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 136ff.

Achilles’, partly because of the relationship between the two locations, and partly because these two passages contain the only two references to Achilles in the *Periegesis*:

(541) Ἔστι δέ τις καὶ σκαιὸν ὑπὲρ πόρον Εὐξείνιοιο
ἄντα Βορυσθέneos μεγαλῶνυμος εἰν ἀλὶ νῆσος
ἡρώων· Λευκὴν μιν ἐπωνυμίην καλέουσιν,
οὔνεκά οἱ τάπερ ἔστι κινώπετα λευκὰ τέτυκται·
κεῖθι δ’ Ἀχιλλῆός τε καὶ ἡρώων φάτις ἄλλων
ψυχὰς εἰλίσσεσθαι ἐρημαίας ἀνὰ βήσσας·

Dionysius’ verses on the island of Leuce, like the opening verses of *Iliad* 24, place Achilles within a funereal context, and Counillon argues that this, together with the name ‘Leuce’ itself, leads the reader to expect in Dionysius’ description of Leuce an acrostic similar to the acrostic at the beginning of *Iliad* 24. Counillon also claims that Dionysius is playing on this expectation when he introduces his acrostic, not into his description of Leuce, but into his account of the ‘Track of Achilles’.

The argument offered by Counillon is, as he himself admits, somewhat complicated and it only goes as far as providing a possible explanation as to why Dionysius places the acrostic where he does. It in no way accounts for Dionysius choice of word in στενή, which surely deserves some attention, particularly in light of the fact that στενή is not distant in meaning from Aratus’ λεπτή.

In Callimachus’ *Reply to the Telchines* (Fr. 1, 1 Pfeiffer) the poet uses a number of metaphors to describe his own poetry. Some of these he places in the mouth of Apollo:

(23) “μέμνεό μοι, φίλ’] ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
θρέψαι, τή]ν Μοῦσαν δ’ ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην.
πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ’ ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἅμαξαι
τὰ στείβειν, ἐτέρων δ’ ἵχνια μὴ καθ’ ὁμὰ
δίφρον ἐλ]ᾶν μηδ’ οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
ἄτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στεινοτέρην ἐλάσεις.”

Apollo begins with an explicit demand for λεπτότης and proceeds to expand upon the theme of the κέλευθος ἄτριπτος. This motif can be traced back to Pindar, who uses it as a metaphor for both the style and content of his poetry (e.g., *Paean* 7b, 10ff.; *Pythian* 4, 247ff.).

Apollo’s speech ends with a reference to the κέλευθος ἄτριπτος as the κέλευθος στεινοτέρη.³¹

It is surely more than coincidental that Dionysius chooses to highlight through his acrostic a word which is not only close in meaning to Aratus’ λεπτή, but also, like λεπτή, carries echoes of Callimachus’ *Reply to the Telchines*. Dionysius may well be alluding to the acrostic of *Iliad* 24, as Counillon suggests, but he is also alluding to that of the *Phaenomena*, and in such a way as to claim for his poem an affiliation with Aratus’.

³¹For the link between λεπτότης and the κέλευθος στενή cf. Virgil, *Georgic* 1, 380: “angustum formica terens iter...” and R. F. Thomas *ad loc.*, who notes that the poet adapts here the translation by Varro of Aratus 956f.: tenuis formica (R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics*, Vol. 1, Books 1-2 [Cambridge, 1988]). Cf. also Propertius 2, 1, 45: *nos contra angusto versamus proelia lecto*.

History of the Text

1. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις survives in 134 known MSS. The earliest of these MSS, Parisinus Suppl. gr. 388 (A), is dated to the tenth century. The most recent edition of the text by Kai Brodersen is based almost entirely on the readings of A, which he describes as the ‘ältesten erhaltenen und zugleich wertvollsten Handschrift.’³²

Isavella Tsavari has collated all 134 known MSS in preparing her edition of the text, while, like Brodersen, trusting heavily in A, and showing a tendency to privilege chronological priority over other criteria in determining the value of the MSS, which is reflected also in her decision to report readings from only those 44 which predate the fifteenth century.³³ Tsavari claims to have used as a basis for her edition of the text the 1861 edition by Karl Müller,³⁴ the first to report the readings of A.³⁵ Where Tsavari differs from Müller it is almost always to follow A.

Tsavari’s trust in A rests largely on the argument that it was copied from a Roman archetype, and was not subject to the contamination suffered by the vast majority of the surviving MSS which, she argues, belong to a separate tradition, descended from one lost source in Constantinople.³⁶ According to Tsavari the only extant MS to have descended from A is Vaticanus gr. 910 (V⁹), which she

³²Brodersen, *op. cit.* (above n. 1), p. 147.

³³See also R. Nicolai in *Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica* 120 (1992), pp. 478ff., esp. 481: non sembra aver tenuto presente il principio pasqualiano dei *recentiores non deteriores* (per i manoscritti dei secc. XV e XVI esamina soltanto dei campioni di testo e dichiara di non tenerne conto nell’edizione: così a p. 443).

³⁴In *Geographi Graeci Minores* II (Berlin, 1861), pp. 103ff.

³⁵Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), p. 22.

³⁶Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), esp. pp. 43ff. and 212ff.

dates to the beginning of the fourteenth century. Patrick Counillon, however, has pointed out that the double readings, which Tsavari herself admits are transmitted by A,³⁷ indicate that A also shows signs of contamination.³⁸ Counillon goes on to reject the idea of an early Roman edition altogether: ‘Il faut donc renoncer au mythe inutile de la “Recension Romaine” et chercher l’ancêtre commun de toute la tradition à Constantinople.’³⁹ He concludes by rightly questioning Tsavari’s assumption of the superiority of the testimony of A in establishing the text.⁴⁰

The stemma constructed by Tsavari has also been criticised by Michael Reeve, who has shown that Tsavari has inadequately defined the relationships between a number of MSS.⁴¹

Therefore, although I have used Tsavari’s edition of the text as the basis for my commentary and translation, I have also indicated where I would prefer to adopt readings which differ from those of her edition.

2. SCHOLIA, COMMENTARIES, TRANSLATIONS, ETC.

Two Latin translations provide some suggestion of the early popularity of the *Periegesis*, the one by Avienus in the fourth century and the other by Priscian in the sixth. Tsavari argues that Avienus and

³⁷Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), p. 45.

³⁸P. Counillon, ‘A Propos de l’*Histoire du Texte de Denys le Périégète*’, *Revue des Études Anciennes* 93 (1991), pp. 365ff., esp. p. 368: en admettant l’existence de ces doubles leçons, elle renonce à la “pureté remarquable” de sa tradition romaine, et reconnaît que l’ancêtre de toute la tradition lui-même était déjà fortement contaminé, ce qui entache terriblement ses conclusions.

³⁹Counillon 1991, *art. cit.* (above n. 38), p. 371.

⁴⁰Counillon 1991, *art. cit.* (above n. 38), p. 371: Quant à l’établissement du texte, on ne peut se contenter de s’en remettre à A . . . Il serait sans doute beaucoup plus profitable d’analyser de plus près le Vaticanus 910 et sa constitution. Tant que cela ne sera pas fait on n’aura pas des meilleures raisons de choisir l’une ou l’autre leçon que celles qu’avaient nos prédécesseurs, depuis le premier copiste jusqu’à K. Müller.

⁴¹See CR 41 (1991), pp. 306ff.; ‘Some Manuscripts of Dionysius the Periegete’, *Illinois Classical Studies* 19 (1994), pp. 209ff.

Priscian based their translations on different MSS, which indeed seems to be borne out by differences in their translations, such as at 213 (= Avienus 319: *urbs procera arces* ~ εὐρυργος; Priscian 197: *clarorum mater equorum* ~ εὐίππος).⁴² However, whether, as Tsavari suggests, Avienus had before him the archetype from which A was copied, is a matter for debate, given that the very existence of such an archetype has been questioned (see above).

A comparison of verses from Dionysius' description of Italy and the corresponding passages of Avienus, and Priscian helps to give some indication of the relationship of each to the *Periegesis* and their respective value in establishing the text of Dionysius.

Dionysius 357-361

Τῇ δ' ἐπὶ Καμπανῶν λιπαρὸν πέδον, ἧχι μέλαθρον
 ἀγνῆς Παρθενόπης, σταχύων βεβριθὸς ἀμάλλης,
 Παρθενόπης, ἣν πόντος ἐοῖς ὑπεδέξατο κόλποις.
 Πρὸς δὲ νότον, μάλα πολλὸν ὑπὲρ Σειρηνίδα πέτρην,
 φαίνονται προχοαὶ Πευκεντίνου Σιλάραιο·

Avienus 496-501

*Hinc Campanus ager glebam jacet. Hic freta quondam
 Parthenopen blando labentem in marmora ponti
 suscepere sinu. Tepidum si rursus in austrum
 convertare oculis, nemorosi maxima cernes
 culmina Piceni. Coma largi palmitis illic
 tenditur, ac fuso Bacchus tegit arva flagello.*

⁴²Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), pp. 43ff.; 212ff.

Priscian 351-55

*Post hos pingue solum sequitur, Campania dives,
hic ubi Parthenopes domus est castissima, frugum
fertilis; hanc pontus propriis exceperat undis.
Ad noton est, longe supra Sirenida rupem,
Picentis Silari gurgis, spectabile flumen.*

Avienus' translation can be seen to be relatively free. It would seem unwise, then, to rely too heavily on his readings in attempting to establish the text of the *Periegesis*, even though Tsavari argues that Avienus' access to the 'Roman' archetype from which A was copied makes his translation particularly valuable as testimony to the original text of the poem.⁴³ Priscian seems to be more faithful to Dionysius' Greek than Avienus and his translation may often, therefore, prove the more useful in helping to assess the relative weight of different readings in the text.

Scholia to the poem, which formed the basis for Eustathius' twelfth-century commentary, may have been in circulation as early as the fourth century, if, as Isabella Gualandri suggests, the freedom with which Avienus often translates Dionysius' words is indeed due to the fact that a set of scholia already accompanied his text of the *Periegesis*.⁴⁴ According to Tsavari scholia in fact accompanied the archetypes of both the 'Roman' and 'Constantinopolitan' traditions and, therefore, also the second-century 'prearchetype' from which these two archetypes were copied.⁴⁵

⁴³Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), pp. 41ff.

⁴⁴I. Gualandri, 'Avieno e Donisio il Periegeta: per un riesame del problema', *Studi in Onore di Arsitide Colonna*, (Perugia, 1982), pp. 151-65.

⁴⁵Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), p. 41.

Eustathius' commentary is transmitted in over fifty known MSS, the majority of which also preserve the text of the poem itself.⁴⁶ Tsavari argues that of the many MSS to which Eustathius had access one was an early descendant of A, the now lost ancestor of V⁹.⁴⁷

There is also an anonymous paraphrase of the poem in Greek prose which accompanies the text in around fifty of the extant MSS. It has so far proved impossible to date this paraphrase with any certainty, but Tsavari tentatively assigns it to the ninth or the tenth century, on the evidence of the similarities between the paraphrase itself and the MSS which she classifies as belonging to family ε.⁴⁸

Another Greek paraphrase of the *Periegesis* purports to be by the thirteenth-century writer Nicephorus Blemmides but has been shown by Aubrey Diller to be a 16th century forgery by Antonius Episcopoulos.⁴⁹ Tsavari suggests that Episcopoulos used a number of MSS, in particular Vaticanus gr. 121 (V²²), dated to the thirteenth century and a lost MS (d¹²), of which the earliest surviving descendant, Parisinus gr. 2708 (L), is dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.⁵⁰ Michael Reeve, however, has cast doubt on Tsavari's classification of V²², and shown that there are a number of problems in her definition and classification of the MSS of family d.⁵¹ The paraphrases are of less help as a tool for establishing the text of the *Periegesis*, but provide a useful testimony to interpretations of Dionysius (see nn. on 348 and 350).

⁴⁶See A. Diller, 'The Manuscripts of Eustathius' Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes', *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography* (Amsterdam, 1975), pp. 181ff.

⁴⁷Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), pp. 61ff.

⁴⁸Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), pp. 58ff.

⁴⁹A. Diller, 'Two Greek Forgeries of the Sixteenth Century', *AJPh* 57 (1936), pp. 124ff.

⁵⁰Tsavari 1990b, *op. cit.* (above n. 3), pp. 69f.

⁵¹Reeve 1994, *art. cit.* (above n. 41), esp. pp. 214 and 216ff.

In preparing the commentary below, I have tried to keep the evidence of both paraphrases in mind, as well as the translations of Avienus and Priscian, the scholia, and Eustathius' commentary.

I have chosen to comment on that section of the poem which treats all of Libya and Europe, excluding the east coast of the Aegean and Greece, in other words, almost half of Dionysius' οἰκουμένη (174-382). Study of these verses of the poem allows a comparison of Dionysius' descriptions of the two continents which constitute the western half of his οἰκουμένη, and in particular the two most important cities of the empire at the time, Rome and Alexandria.

Although I note where I differ from Tsavari in my reading of the text, my commentary is essentially a literary, not a textual, commentary. I have tried to establish what were Dionysius' literary models and aims when composing the *Periegesis*, and I hope that, by undertaking the first close study of the language and style of the poem, I have helped to pave the way towards a better understanding of this somewhat enigmatic work.

COMMENTARY

174-268 *Libya* D. places Libya first in his description of the continents, following the order he has indicated in 9ff. Eustathius supposed that the periegete was hereby simply giving pride of place to his native land (*GGM*, II, p.215, l. 6), yet the position of Libya within the poem is established so as to accord with two movements which dictate the overall structure of the poem. As Christian Jacob has pointed out,⁵² the sections describing each of the three continents grow progressively longer: Libya occupies 95 lines; Europe 179; and 549 lines, equivalent to nearly half the length of the poem, are dedicated to Asia. Jacob argues that there is a parallel between the way in which D. composed the *Periegesis* and that in which ancient maps were often drawn. Eustathius tells us that ancient cartographers would bend lands out of all shape and proportion in order to write in the names of peoples where they were known and in order not to leave empty spaces where they were not known (*ad DP*, v. 1, *GGM*, II, p. 218, ll. 10-18). This same manipulation of space, Jacob suggests, can be seen in the *Periegesis*. Whether or not the two processes are parallel is debatable. Nevertheless it is inevitable that the amount of space given each continent by D. is related to the amount he knew, or at least believed he knew, of the peoples and places which had once or still made up that continent. As will be seen, except for its north coast and Egypt, Libya was relatively unknown. Asia, in contrast, was both better known and was surrounded by more myths and legends.

Not only is there a progression from smaller to larger sections in the poem, but there is also a linear movement from west to east discernible at various levels within the *Periegesis*. Jacob writes that it

⁵²Jacob 1981, *art. cit.* (above n. 2), p. 36f.

is as though D. were taking his reader on a metaphorical voyage.⁵³ The poem is more like a compilation of descriptions of several voyages. Nevertheless, there is a west-east movement which is prevalent in almost every one of these, and which certainly helps to guide the order of the description of the continents. A west to east movement is typical of geographical texts and seems to go back to the early Ionian *periploi*, like that of Scylax. It is interesting that D. should choose to adopt the style of the *periplous* in structuring his poem even though he disclaims physical travel (cf. 706-17).

The same west-east progression is present within the description of Libya. D. begins by tracing the overall shape of the continent and proceeds to divide it into northern and southern zones. He then describes each in turn in an eastward movement. This same pattern of description is used by D. in the section on Europe. It is also evident in the Asian section, although here it is compromised somewhat in favour of other schemes of movement.

Despite this systematic approach to the description of the continent, D.'s knowledge of Libya seems to have been patchy. In 39-40 he tells us that the southern regions of Libya actually lie beyond the inhabited world. This, as Greaves remarks,⁵⁴ appears to contradict his claim that the inhabited world is surrounded by ocean, as does the fact that his description of the islands of the ocean follows a clockwise path until reaching Libya, where it stops (555-611). Furthermore, the Libyan section, though it is relatively short, is to a large extent made up of the discussion of Egypt and the Egyptians (232-64).

D. divides Egypt between the continents of Libya and Asia, taking the Nile as its boundary in the east. While the division of the

⁵³C. Jacob, *L'empire des cartes: approche théorique de la cartographie à travers l'histoire* (Paris, 1992), p. 307.

⁵⁴Greaves, *op. cit.* (above n. 25), p. 35.

world into the three continents of Europe, Asia and Libya was broadly accepted by this time, there was still some debate over the boundaries which defined them, as D. himself indicates (19-25), and over their shapes and sizes too. Strabo criticizes those like D., who split Egypt into two parts (1, 2, 25. Cf. Hdt. 2, 15-18), and reveals that some made the boundary between Asia and Libya the Red Sea, calling them the ‘abler geographers’ (1, 2, 28). Nevertheless he himself, like D., later takes the Nile to mark the division between the continents, as seems to have been more common (2, 5, 26). Yet, despite the fact that he draws Libya according to the same boundaries as D., Strabo states that it may be smaller than Europe and that the two continents combined do not equal Asia in size (17, 3, 1). D., in contrast, makes it clear that he envisions Libya as equal in size to Europe, for he claims that they share the same form and that each has an ‘equal border’ with Asia. He further states that the two together form an triangle which has its apex in the west (271-80). Asia he describes as forming another triangle pointing eastwards, similar in shape yet smaller in size (620-35).

174 ἦτοι μέν : also at 10, 29, 45, 148, 184, 281, 334, 450, 470, 520, 558, 652, 663, 736, 812, 897, 954, 973, 978, 1039, 1082, 1095, 1130. The particle combination is restricted to Epic (Denniston, pp. 389 and 554f.). Cf. esp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 116:

ἦτοι μέν πρῶτιστα Χάος γένετ’.

West notes *ad loc.* that passages following invocations often begin with μέν.⁵⁵ For ἦτοι μέν as suggestive of the poet getting down to business see also Aratus, *Phaen.* 462.

ἐς νότον ἔρπει : cf. Theoc., *Id.* 4, ἴδ’ αὖ πάλιν ἄδε ποθέρπει/; 5, 37, ἴδ’ ἅ χάρις ἐς τί ποχ’ ἔρπει/; 14, 50, ἐς δέον

⁵⁵M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford, 1966), p. 192.

έρποι/; 69, ἐς γένυν ἔρπει/. For the verb in this *sedes* see also D. 23, 93, 123, 147, 222, 272, 496, 897. It is used regularly of snakes in Nicander (*Ther.* 159; 297, διέρπει; 481; 611; 717), always in the same *sedes*.⁵⁶

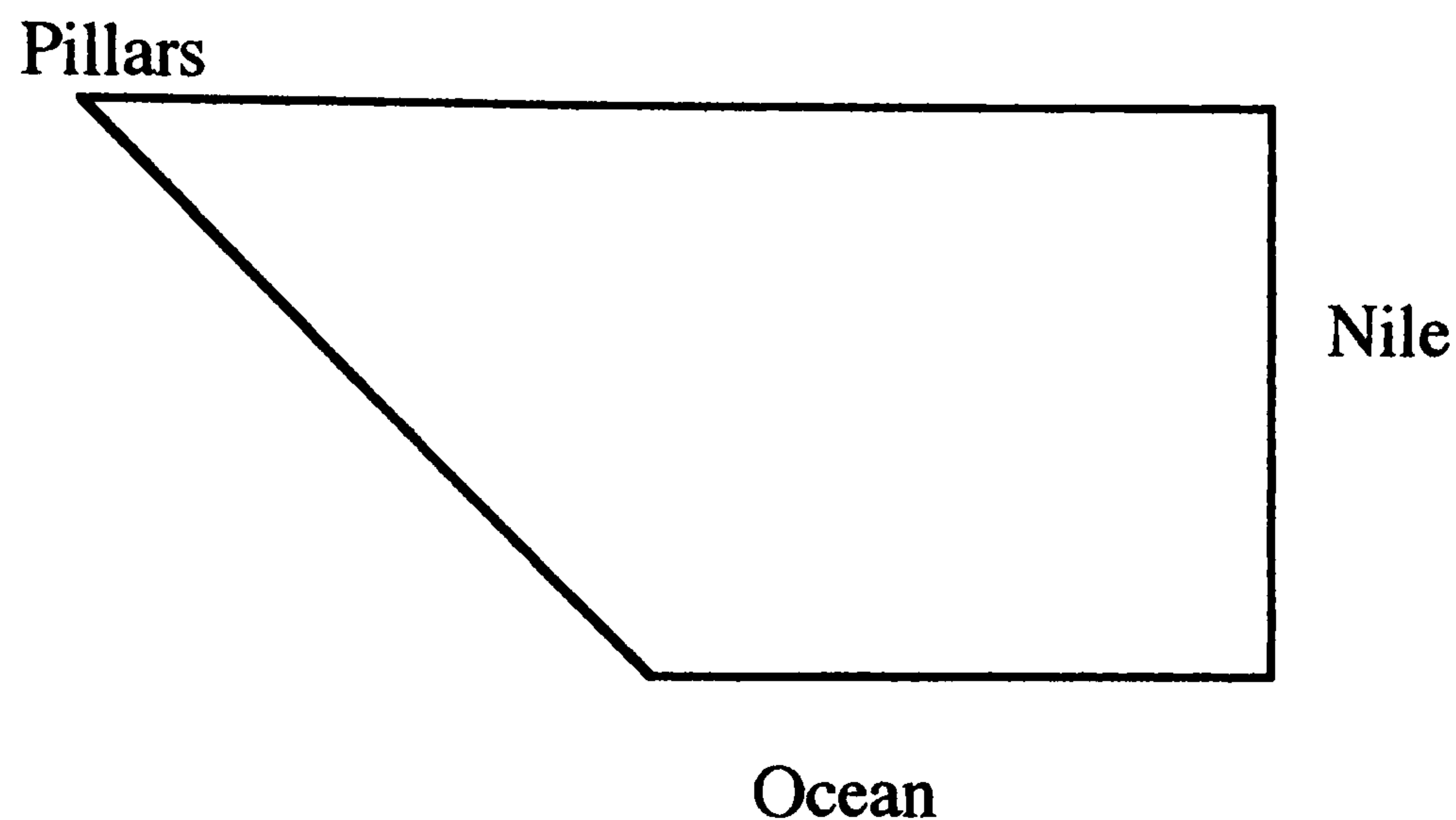
Pietro Janni has shown that the use of verbs of motion to express the extent and direction of areas of land as well as bodies of water is less common in Greek geographical descriptions, but is frequent in Latin (e.g., Mela, 1, 2, (*Asia*) *cum aliquatenus solida processit*; Amm. Marcellinus, 22, 8, 5, (*Aegaeum*) *qua in occasum procedit Cherronesum pulsat*; Avienus, *Descriptio Orbis* 26f., *una Asia, inclinans geminis se cornibus, urget / desuper, ac rupti divortia continet orbis*.)

174-5 ἐς νότον . . . / ἐς νότον : D. frequently employs the rhetorical device of epanalepsis, either, as here, to mark the direction his description is about to take, or to draw attention to a particular place, cf. 195-7.

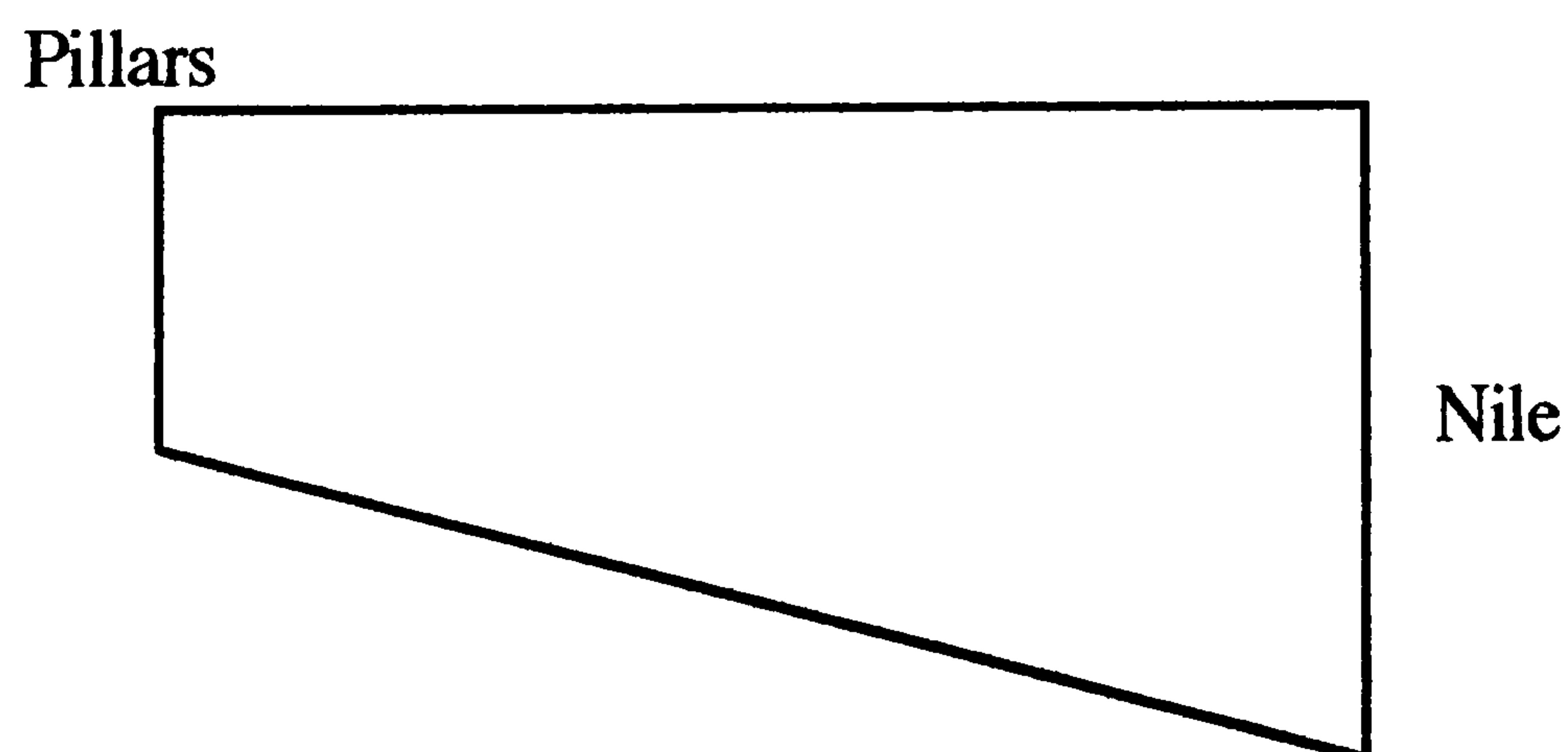
175-80 D. here likens Libya to a trapezium, a quadrilateral, two sides of which are parallel. Strabo too compares the form of Libya to that of a trapezium, drawing the northern and southern coasts of the continent as parallel and at right-angles with the boundary of the Nile, the western coast joining the northern to form a sharp point by the Pillars of Heracles: τὴν μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡίονα ἐπ' εὐθείας ἔχουσα, σχεδόν τι μέχρι Στηλῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρξαμένην...τὴν δὲ παρωκεανῖτιν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας μέχρι τινός, ὡς ἂν παράλληλον οὔσαν τῇ προτέρᾳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγομένην ἀπὸ τῶν νοτίων μερῶν εἰς ὀξεῖαν ἄκραν, μικρὸν ἔξω Στηλῶν

⁵⁶See P. Janni, *La mappa e il periplo: cartografia antica e spazio odologico* (Rome, 1984), pp. 16f.

προπεπτωκυῖαν καὶ ποιοῦσαν τραπέζιον πῶς τὸ σχῆμα (2, 5, 33).



Alfred Göthe takes this to show that D. used Strabo as a source for his description of Libya.⁵⁷ Eustathius, however, interprets D.'s trapezium differently. He draws as parallel the Nile and the western coast of the continent, the Nile being longer. He places these boundaries at right-angles to the northern coast (*ad DP*, vv. 174-5, *GGM*, II, pp.245-7).



Eustathius acknowledges that some made the northern and southern coasts parallel, as does Strabo, but states that D.'s depiction

⁵⁷A. Göthe, *De fontibus Dionysii Periegetae*, (Diss. Gottingae, 1875), p. 17.

of the continent (as he interprets it) is the more accurate. Greaves argues that D.'s words at 178-9, where he speaks of the Nile as Libya's 'wider boundary', imply that he saw this as one of the two parallel lines of the trapezium, and, therefore, she adopts Eustathius' interpretation of the passage.⁵⁸ She proposes that there were in fact two traditions as to the quadrilateral form of Libya, both originally stemming from a single source. One of these, she suggests, is reflected by Strabo, and the other by D.

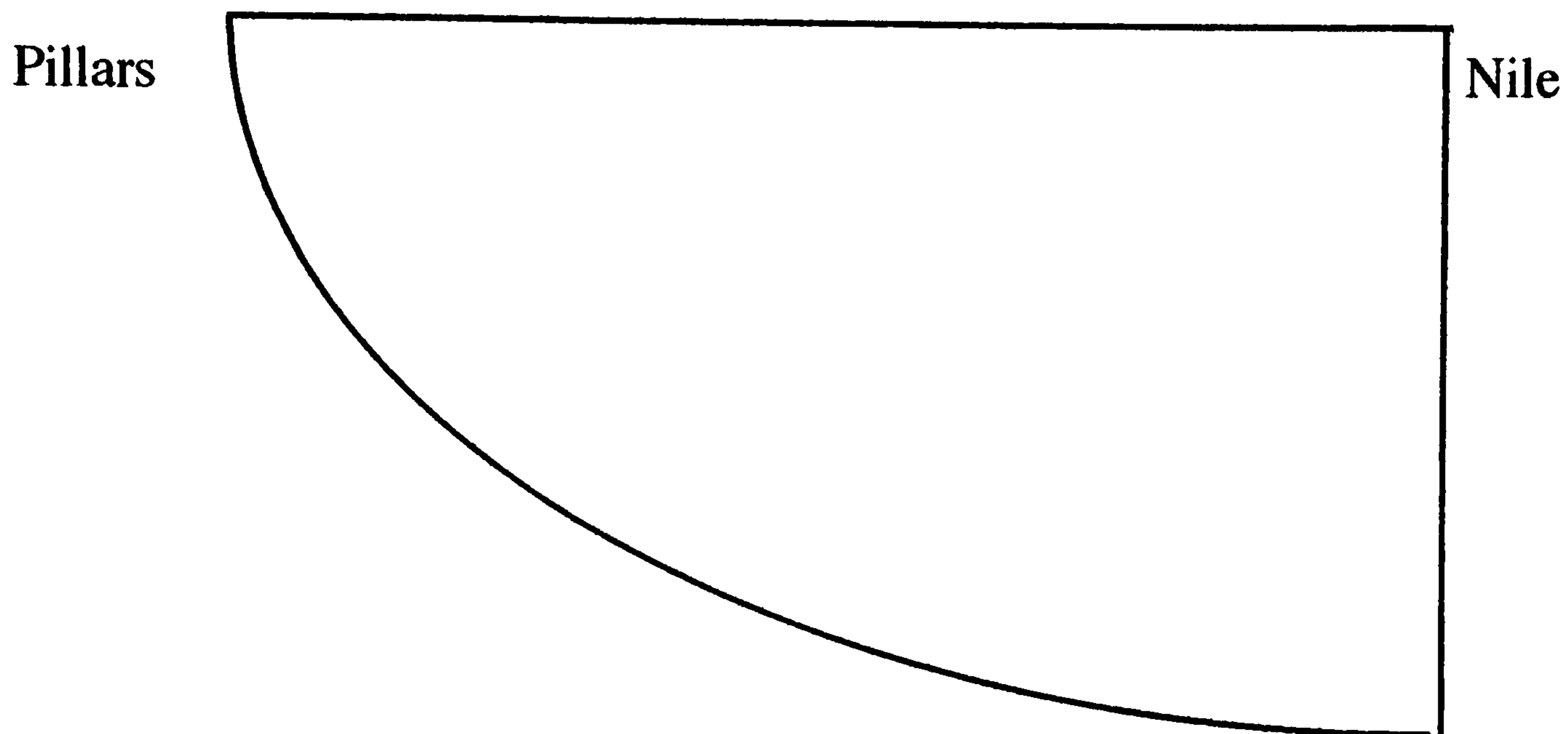
Nevertheless, it is quite possible to interpret D.'s description as depicting a trapezium resembling that drawn by Strabo. D. 176-7, far from implying that the western coast of Libya forms a blunt edge, such as it would were it parallel to the Nile, explicitly states that the continent comes to a sharp point here. D. actually uses language in these lines close to that used by Strabo in his description at 2, 5, 33, so that, whether from Strabo or from a common source, he probably had the same model in mind.

The comparison D. draws here may seem to contradict his later description of Libya and Europe as together forming a triangle (271-80), and the implication that Libya itself has the shape of a triangle (see above on 174-269). It is noteworthy that Strabo too describes the continent not only as a trapezium, but also as a right-angled triangle (17, 3, 1). Greaves suggests that the discrepancies in both authors may be attributed to their using a number of sources.⁵⁹ It may be, however, as Greaves also admits, that D. and Strabo knowingly employed both geometric figures to describe a continent which they saw as neither one nor the other exactly, but roughly as a compromise between the two. Strabo himself does in fact state that geographers used geometric

⁵⁸Greaves, *op. cit.* (above n. 25), p. 78.

⁵⁹Greaves, *op. cit.* (above n. 25), p. 80.

figures as approximations to give a general picture of the subject (2, 1, 23). If this were the case, the actual shape of Libya, as perceived by D., might be something like this:



175 εἶδος ὁμοίη : see Homer, *Od.* 6, 16:

κοῖματ' ἀθανάτησι φυὴν καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη.

cf. *Il.* 5, 441, φῦλον ὁμοῖον/; 10, 216, οὐδέν ὁμοῖον/; 17, 475, ἄλλος ὁμοῖος/; *Hom. Hymn* 5, 82, εἶδος ὁμοίη; Aratus, *Phaen.* 210, οὐδέν ὁμοίη/; 454, οὐδέν ὁμοῖοι/; Callim., *Fr.* 178, 9 Pfeiffer, αἰὲν ὁμοῖον/.

176 ἀρξαμένη : cf. 1ff.:

ἀρχόμενος γαῖαν τε καὶ εὐρέα πόντον ἀεΐδειν
καὶ ποταμούς πόλιάς τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἄκριτα φῦλα,
μνήσομαι ὤκεανοῖο βαθυρρόου.

Such 'beginning' statements are formulaic. See esp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 1, Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀεΐδειν; 36, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα; *Hom. Hymn* 2, 1 (=11, 1; 16, 1; 22, 1; 26, 1; 28, 1), ἄρχομ' ἀεΐδειν; 5, 293 (= 9, 9), σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος; 25, 1,

Μουσάων ἄρχωμαι; 31, 1, ἄρχεο Μοῦσα; Aratus, *Phaen.* 1 = Theoc., *Id.* 17, 1, ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα; Ap. Rhod. 1, 1, ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, . . . / μνήσομαι. Cf. also Homer, *Il.* 9, 97, ἔν σοι μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι; *Od.* 8, 499, θεοῦ ἄρχετο. D. plays on the formula by using the participle frequently, as here, to mark the opening of a new section, see 63, 69 (πρώτιστος ἄ.), 79, 346, 639, 694 (ἄ. τὸ πρῶτον), 727, 786 (ἄ. τὸ πρῶτον), 895, 1091 (ἄ. τὰ πρῶτ').

πρώτιστα : see above on 174 for the echo of Hesiod, *Theog.* 116.

Γαδειρόθεν : the same form is attested at Hesiod, *Fr.* 372, 10 Merkelbach-West, and later at A. P. 14, 121, 1.

ἦχί περ ἄκρη : cf. D. 258, ἦχί τε μακραί/⁶⁰; Aratus, *Phaen.* 61; 231, ἦχί περ ἄκραι/.

177 ἔς μυχόν : Homer, *Od.* 7, 87; 96; 16, 285 (same *sedes*).

μυχόν . . . ὠκεανοῖο : cf. Ap. Rhod. 2, 1246, μυχὸς . . . πόντου/; 4, 1379, μυχόν . . . θαλάσσης/.

ὄξυνθεῖσα : D. perhaps here again had in mind Strabo's description of Libya at 2, 5, 33, συναγομένην ἀπὸ τῶν νοτίων μερῶν εἰς ὀξεῖαν ἄκραν (see on 175-80).

178 Ἀραβίης : given that D. echoes Theoc., *Id.* 17, 86f. at 179 (cf. also 230), and that Theoc. *Id.* 86 reads Ἀρραβίας, it is tempting to adopt here the widely attested v. l. Ἀρραβίης.

τεκμαίρεται : also at 101, 135. Cf. Nicander, *Ther.* 231:

τοῦ μὲν ὑπὲρ κυνόδοντε δύω χροῖ τεκμαίρονται.

⁶⁰See below on 258 for vv. 11.

179 See below on 199, βαιοτέρη.

τόθι : Tsavari seems to suggest that the use of the demonstrative in place of the relative is attested earlier only at Callim., *Hymn* 1, 32 and Ap. Rhod. 3, 577. There are, however, numerous other instances attested, for which see Ap. Rhod. 4, 772 and 1131 with Livrea *ad locc.*

κελαινῶν Αἰθιοπῶν : D. seems to have had in mind Theoc., *Id.* 17, 87, κελαινῶν τ' Αἰθιοπῶν/. Cf. Aeschylus, *Pr.* 808, where the Ethiopians are described as κελαινὸν φύλον.

180 τῶν ἐτέρων : D. indicates that there was more than one group of Ethiopians and thus seems to allude to Homer, *Od.* 1, 23-4:

Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.

Strabo tells us that these verses had evoked criticism from Aristarchus and others because they suggest that Homer mistakenly divided the Ethiopians into two distinct groups (1, 2, 24-8). Pliny asserts that Homer was in fact right to distinguish from one another eastern and western Ethiopians (*N. H.* 5, 8). On the so-called 'western' Ethiopians see also Strabo 17, 3, 5; Mela 3, 9; Pliny, *N. H.* 6, 30f.

Ἐρεμβῶν : the Erembi are first attested at Homer, *Od.* 4, 84:

Αἰθιοπᾶς θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβοὺς

The identification of these Erembi was another subject of concern for Homeric scholars (Strabo 1, 1, 3; 2, 34f.). According to Strabo their name was derived from the fact that they lived in caves (Erembi < ἔραν ἐμβάινειν), and they were therefore probably to be identified with the Arabian Troglodytes (< τρώγλας δύνειν), whom he places on the west coast of the Red Sea, on the borders of Egypt and

Ethiopia. D. similarly situates the Erembi to the west of the Red Sea, apparently identifying them with the Troglodytes, 962ff.:

τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀντιπέραιαν ὑπαὶ ῥιπὴν ζεφύροιο
λυπρὸν ὀρεσκῶων παραφαίνεται οὔδας Ἑρεμβῶν,
οἱ βίον ἐν πέτρῃσι κατωρυχέουσιν ἔθεντο.

181-3 The comparison of Libya to a leopard-skin was, so Strabo seems to suggest (2, 5, 33), a common one, but D. may here again have had in mind specifically Strabo's description of the continent: ἔστι δ', ὥσπερ οἱ τε ἄλλοι δηλοῦσι καὶ δη καὶ Γναῖος Πείσων ἡγεμῶν γενόμενος τῆς χώρας διηγεῖτο ἡμῖν, εἰκυῖα παρδαλῇ. Strabo explains that the oases scattered over the parched continent resemble a leopard's spots.

181 Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 192:

Ἄρκτοφύλαξ, τὸν ῥ' ἄνδρες ἐπικλείουσι Βοώτην.
ἐπικλείουσι is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Od.* 1, 351). Cf. Ap. Rhod. 2, 1156, ἐμὲ δ' αὐτὸν ἐπικλείοιτε κεν Ἄργον/.

παρδαλέη : in the same *sedes* at Homer, *Il.* 10, 29,
παρδαλέη; 11, 17, παρδαλέην.

182 διψηρή : for the application of the adjective to land see Nicander, *Ther.*, 371, διψήρεας ὄγμους; Strabo 16, 2, 40, ἐκτὸς δὲ παντελῶς διψηρὸν (of Jerusalem). Cf. Homer, *Il.* 4, 171, πολυδίψιον Ἄργος, and Strabo's discussion of the meaning of the Homeric adjective at 8, 6, 7. See also below on 183.

αὐχμήεσσα : the adjective is a Homeric *hapax legomenon*. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 24, 249f. :

ἀλλ' ἅμα γῆρας
λυγρὸν ἔχεις αὐχμεῖς τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσαι.

See on 189 below for another echo of the same Homeric verse.

183 κυανῆσι κατάστικτος φολίδεσσιν : Tsavari is perhaps right to suggest that D. had in mind here Ap. Rhod, 1, 221, (πτέρυγας) χρυσεΐαις φολίδεσσι διαυγέας. However, the more obvious parallel is provided by the description of the leopard-like snake at Nicander, *Ther.* 463f.: δῆεις κεγχρίνεω δολιχὸν τέρας, ὃν τελέοντα αἰόλον αὐδάξαντο, περίστικτον φολίδεσσι.

D. is perhaps playing on the fact that Libya was often associated with snakes (e.g. Lucan, *Pharsalia* 9, 696-937). The poison from certain snakes was thought to cause a parching thirst (e.g., Nicander, *Ther.* 334-58), and thirst, in turn, was thought to aggravate snakes (Sallust, *Jugurtha* 89). There may, therefore, be a double meaning to διψηρή (182).

184 ἀλλ' ἦτοι πυμάτη μὲν : cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 687:

ἀλλ' ἦτοι Περσεὺς μὲν ἄτερ γουνός τε ποδός τε
γλωχίνι : = Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 24, 274, ὑπὸ γλωχῖνα [same *sedes*]). But cf. τριγλώχινες, *Il.* 5, 393, and τανυγλώχινες, *Il.* 8, 297). See also Callim., *Hymn* 4, 235, γλωχῖνα, (same *sedes*). It was also the Pythagorean term for an angle (Hero, *Definitiones* 15), and D. perhaps had in mind here the Latin *angulus*, which could denote an angle in geometry or a corner of any kind. On a number of occasions *angulus* is used, as γλωχίν here, of a corner of the world (e.g., Horace, *Od.* 2, 6, 14 and *S.* 2, 6, 8). Cf. also 281f. below for a possible allusion to the geometric sense of γλωχίν.

185 ἄγχοῦ στηλάων : cf. Homer, *Il.* 24, 709, ἄγχοῦ
ξύμβληντο πυλάων; *Od.* 6, 5, ἄγχοῦ Κυκλώπων; 17, 526 = 19,
271, ἄγχοῦ Θεσπρωτῶν ἀνδρῶν.

στηλάων : regularly used to denote the Pillars of Heracles (D.
64; Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F41; Hdt. 4, 42f.; pseudo-Scylax 111f. etc.)

Μαυρουσίδος ἔθνεα γαίης : cf. Ap. Rhod. 1, 1177, Κιανίδος
ἦθεα γαίης /; 4, 511, Κυταιίδος ἦθεα γαίης /; 741, Ἑλλάδος
ἦθεα γαίης /.

For the northwestern corner of Libya as the territory of the
Maurusians / Mauretanians see Strabo 17, 3, 2; Mela 1, 5; Pliny, *N.H.*
5, 2 *et al.*

186-94 D. describes here the nomadic way of life of the Masaisylians
and Masylians. The description focuses on their lack of agriculture,
balancing the passage on Egypt towards the end of the Libyan section,
which describes the Egyptians as founders of an agricultural way of
life.

Agriculture is an important theme in the *Periegesis*. It is the
fundamental measure of civilization. This is one of a number of
passages in the poem in which D. emphasises the barbarism of a
people by referring to their lack of this civilizing craft. Cf. 668-79
(Scythians), 740-5 (Massagetae), 1039-52 (Parthians).

There is a faint reminiscence in the language of this passage of
the Homeric description of the primitive Cyclopes at *Od.* 9, 106ff.:

Κυκλώπων δ' ἐς γαῖαν ὑπερφιάλων ἀθεμίστων
ἰκόμεθ', οἳ ῥα θεοῖσι πεποιθότες ἀθανάτοισιν
οὔτε φυτεύουσιν χερσὶν φυτὸν οὔτ' ἄρόωσιν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται,
πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ ἦδ' ἄμπελοι, αἳ τε φέρουσιν

οἶνον ἐριστάφυλον, καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος ἀέξει.
τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες,
ἀλλ' οἱ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα
ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.

The language of this passage echoes more closely perhaps
Hesiod, *Op.* 529ff.:

καὶ τότε δὴ κεραοὶ καὶ νήκεροι ὑληκοῖται
λυγρὸν μυλιόωντες ἀνὰ δρία βησσήεντα
φεύγουσιν· καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο μέμηλεν,
ὥς σκέπα μαιόμενοι πυκινούς κευθμῶνας ἔχωσι
καὶ γλάφυ πετρῆεν· τότε δὴ τρίποδι βροτῶ ἴσοι
οὔ τ' ἐπὶ νῶτα ἔαγε, κάρη δ' εἰς οὔδας ὀρᾶται,
τῶ ἵκελοι φοιτῶσιν, ἀλευόμενοι νίφα λευκήν.

Hesiod here describes winter in Greece and its effects on the animals of the forest. D. plays on the passage by employing the same language in an inverted context, replacing animals with peoples and the northern hemisphere with the southern hemisphere. He also seems to play on the closing simile of the Hesiodic passage, which likens the stance of the animals to that of an old man, by explicitly likening the nomads to animals (193: ἄτε θῆρες).

For similarly gloomy representations of the life of nomads see, e.g., Hdt. 1, 201-4 and 4, 46ff.; Virgil, *Georgic* 3, 339-83.

186-7 Νομάδων . . . / . . . Μασαισύλιοί τε καὶ Μασυλῆες : cf.
Strabo 2, 5, 33: τούτων (Νομάδων) δὲ τοὺς γνωριμωτάτους
τοὺς μὲν Μασυλιεῖς, τοὺς δὲ Μασαισυλίους προσαγορεύσιν . . .
οὐκ ἀπεικὸς δὲ καὶ Νομάδας λεχθῆναι τινὰς αὐτῶν, οὐ
δυναμένους γεωργεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θηρίων τὸ παλαιόν·

οἱ δὲ νῦν ἅμα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῆς θήρας διαφέροντες . . .
ἀμφοτέρων περιγίγνονται καὶ τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῆς γεωργίας.

186 ἀναπέπταται : the verb is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 12, 121f., σανίδας . . ./. . . ἀναπεπταμένας). Cf. *Ap. Rhod.*, 4, 1258, πέζα διωλυγίης ἀναπέπταται ἠπείροιο/.

It is perhaps preferable, however, to adopt the widely attested v. l. παραπέπταται. See *Aratus, Phaen.* 312, παραπέπταται Ὀρνις, imitated by D. at 98, π. ἄσπετος ἰσθμός; 146f., π. ἐγγύθι Πόντος; 339, π. Αὔσονις ἄκρη; 820, π. ἥθεα γαίης; 1107, παραπέπταται αἶα. Note also the v. l. παραπέμπεται.

ἄσπετα φύλα : also at 138, (305), 1142, and later *Quintus Smyrnaeus* 3, 31; *Nonnus, Dion.* 48, 51; *Or. Syb.* 3, 677. Cf. *Homer, Il.* 17, 220, μυρία φύλα; *ib.* 11, 703 and *Od.* 4, 75, ἄσπετα πολλά; *Ap. Rhod.* 2, 143; 839, ἄσπετα μῆλα; 4, 240, ἄσπετον ἔθνος.

187 ἀγρονόμοι : = Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Od.* 6, 106), later at *Aesch.*, *Ag.* 142; *Soph.*, *Ant.* 786; *O.T.* 1102; *A.P.* 6, 72, 3, etc.

188 βόσκονται : D. attributes animal characteristics to the Nomades before making the comparison explicit in 193. Cf. *Plato, Rep.* 586a-b: οἱ ἄρα φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἄπειροι . . . οὐδὲ βεβαίου τε καὶ καθαρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἐγεύσαντο, ἀλλὰ βοσκημάτων δίκην κάτω ἀεὶ βλέποντες καὶ κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν καὶ εἰς τραπέζας βόσκονται χορταζόμενοι καὶ ὀχεύοντες.

σὺν παισὶν : also at 577. Cf. the warning at *Hesiod, Op.* 397ff.:

ἐργάζευ, νήπιε Πέρση,
ἔργα, τά τ' ἀνθρώποισι θεοὶ διετεκμήραντο
μή ποτε σὺν παίδεσσι γυναικί τε θυμὸν ἀχέων

ζητεύης βίοτον κατὰ γείτονας, οἳ δ' ἀμελῶσιν.

In Hesiod the farmer who does not work hard enough is forced to go with his wife and children to beg for food from his neighbours. D.'s nomad lives with the shame of having to make even his children scavenge for food. For women and children sharing the ill fate of their husbands and fathers see also, e.g., Homer, *Il.* 21, 460, σὺν παισὶ καὶ αἰδοίῃς ἀλόχοισι/.

ἡπειρόν τε καὶ ὕλην : cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 580, γαῖα καὶ ὕλη.

189 μαιόμενοι : D. echoes Hesiod, *Op.* 532. See above on 186-94.

βιότοιο : see below on 233.

κακὴν καὶ ἀεικέα : see Homer, *Od.* 24, 250, κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσαι/. Ap. Rhod. echoes the Homeric phrase at 4, 91, ὀνοτὴν καὶ ἀεικέα θείης/; 739, κακὸν καὶ ἀεικέα μήσαο νόστον/; 748, βουλὰς τε σέθεν καὶ ἀεικέα φύξιν/. D. may also have had in mind the simile at Homer, *Il.* 12, 435:

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐδύναντο φόβον ποιῆσαι Ἀχαιῶν
ἀλλ' ἔχον ὥς τε τάλαντα γυνὴ χερνῆτις ἀληθείς,
ἣ τε σταθμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ εἴριον ἀμφὶς ἀνέλκει
ἰσάζουσ', ἵνα παισὶν ἀεικέα μισθὸν ἄρηται·

θήρην : an ironic metaphor. The Nomads do not engage in animal-hunts but graze (cf. 188, βόσκονται) and scavenge for their food like animals (cf. 193, ἅτε θῆρες). Ctr. Strabo 2, 5, 33 (above on 186-7).

190 οὐ γὰρ . . . ἐδάησαν : cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 375f.

οὐ γὰρ κ' ἐδυνήσατο πάντων
οἰόθι κεκριμένων ὄνομ' εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ δαῖναι.

τομήν : for the noun as ‘cutting’ see, e.g., Soph., *Tr.* 887, ἐν τομᾷ σιδάρου; Eurip., *El.* 160, πελέκεως τομᾶς. But cf. Homer, *Il.* 1, 235, τομήν ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλοιπεν/ (= *harax legomenon*); Aratus, *Phaen.* 322, λοξὸς μὲν Ταύροιο τομῇ; Theoc., *Id.* 10, 46, τᾶς κόρθυος ἅ τομά.

γειομόριοι : for the use of this word as an adjective see Ap. Rhod. 1, 1214; 4, 1453 and Livrea *ad loc.* who notes Ap. Rhod.’s use of the similar compound γειοτόμον in connection with ἄροτρον at 1, 687. It is more commonly used as a substantive meaning ‘landowner’, e.g., Callim., *Hymn* 1, 74 (γεωμορός) and Hdt. 7, 155 (οἱ γαμόροι).

191 τερπνός : the adjective (τερπνήν) appears only as a v. l. for τέρπειν in Homer (*Od.* 8, 45). Later see Pindar, *Fr.* 95, 5 Snell, μέλημα τερπνόν; *P.M.G.* 947 b2 Page, τερπνοτάτων μελέων, Callim., *Frr.* 93, 3 Pfeiffer, τερπνίστατα πάντων; 369, τέρπνιστον; 536, τέρπνιστοι δὲ τοκεῦσι τόθ’ υἱέες; Ap. Rhod. 3, 727, τερπνόν τε τέτυκται; 813, μνήσατο μὲν τερπνῶν; 982, τερπνοῖς / φηλώσης ἐπέεσιν; *A.P.* 5, 48, 2, τερπνότερον κάλυκος; 7, 329, 4, τερπνὸς ἔπεστι τάφος, *et al.*

D. perhaps had in mind Callim.’s description of the sights and sounds of human activity which herald day-break at *Hecale*, *Fr.* 260, 63ff. Pfeiffer:

καδδραθέτην δ’ οὐ πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθεν
στιβήεις ἄγχαυρος, ὅτ’ οὐκέτι χεῖρες ἔπαγροι
φιλητέων· ἦδη γὰρ ἑωθινὰ λύχνα φαίνει·
αἶδει καί πού τις ἀνὴρ ὕδατηγὸς ἱμαῖον·
ἔγρει καί τιν’ ἔχοντα παρὰ πλόον οἰκίον ἄξων
τετριγῶς ὑπ’ ἄμαξαν . . .

For the noise of the wagon as a pleasant sign of its heavy load see Virgil, *Georg.* 3, 172f.:

*post valido nitens sub pondere faginus axis
instrepat, et iunctos temo trahat aereus orbis.*

The noisy axle has rather different connotations in the Homeric passage echoed by both Callim. and Virgil here, *Il.* 5, 838-9:

μέγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγινοσ ἄξων
βριθοσύνη· δεινὴν γὰρ ἄγεν θεὸν ἄνδρα τ' ἄριστον.

192-3 βοῶν . . . βουκολέονται : D. emphasises the topsy-turvy nature of the Nomads' way of life. He suggests that they themselves behave as the cattle which others have learned to use to work the land. The name Νομάδες itself is derived from the verb νέμω (graze), and D. is perhaps playing on this fact here.

192 D. continues to recall the pleasing sounds associated with agriculture, of which the nomads are ignorant. He clearly had in mind Homer, *Od.* 12, 265:

μυκηθμοῦ τ' ἤκουσα βοῶν αὐλιζομενάων.

Ap. Rhod. echoes the same Homeric verse at 4, 969:

μυκηθμός τε βοῶν αὐτοσχεδὸν οὔατ' ἔβαλλεν.

αὐλίον : cf. esp. *Hom. Hymn* 4, 103 (=134), ἐπ' αὐλίον
ὑψιμέλαθρον/; 106, ἐς αὐλίον ἀθρόας οὔσας/; Callim., *Hymn* 3,
93, ἐπ' αὐλίον, ἐπτὰ δ' ἔδωκε/; Ap. Rhod. 2, 142, αὐλία
δηιάσκειν/; [Theoc.], *Id.* 25, 84, ποτὶ ταῦλιον ἴξον ἰόντες/; 87,
μετ' αὐλιά τε σηκούς τε/.

193 Cf. D.'s description of the Erembi at 967:

αὐτῶς δ', οἷά τε θῆρες, ἀλώμενοι ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν

ἄλλ' αὖτως : for ἄλλ' αὖτως in the same *sedes* see Ap. Rhod. 1, 877; 1074; 3, 85; 3, 770; 4, 372. On the aspiration of the adverb see Kidd on Aratus, *Phaen.* 21.

ἄτε θῆρες : cf. esp. Homer, *Il.* 22, 127, ἄ τε παρθένος ἠίθεός τε; Callim., *Fr.* 284 Pfeiffer, ἄτε κερκίδες; Ap. Rhod. 3, 118, ἄτε κοῦροι ὁμήθεις, ἐψιόωντο./; 4, 1441, ἄτε χθόνα πεζὸς ὀδεύων

ἀνὰ δρία : D. echoes Hesiod, *Op.* 530. See above on 186-94.

βουκολέονται : cf. Homer, *Il.* 20, 221, ἵπποι ἔλος κατά βουκολέοντο/; Callim., *Hymn* 4, 176, πλεῖστα κατ' ἡέρα βουκολέονται/.

194 The structure and semantics of this line are noteworthy. Each of the adjectives expresses deprivation and is followed by an attracted genitive of privation. D. introduces variation by making one of the adjectives α-privative, a feature which is emphasised by the alliteration of α. The juxtaposition of Homeric *hapax legomena* is also noteworthy.

νήιδες : for the adjective + genitive cf. Homer, *Od.* 8, 179, νῆις ἀέθλων; Bacchylides, *Epin.* 5, 174, νῆιν ἔτι χρυσέας; Callim., *Fr.* 1, 2 Pfeiffer, νήιδες οἱ Μούσης; 75, 49, νήιδες εἰσι θεοῦ; 178, 33, ναυτιλίας εἰ νῆιν ἔχεις βίον.

ἄσταχύων = Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 2, 148), ἄσταχύεσσιν. Cf. *Hom. Hymn* 2, 454, ἄσταχύεσσιν; 456, ἄσταχύων (same *sedes*); Aratus, *Phaen.* 150, ἄσταχύων (same *sedes*); *A.P.* 9, 21, 6, ἄσταχύων; 12, 36, 4 (Asclepiades), ἄσταχύων.

ἀπευθέες : for the use of the adjective in an active sense see Homer, *Od.* 3, 184; Callim., *Fr.* 182 Pfeiffer; *A.P.* 15, 14, 5

(Theophanes); 16, 303, 1. In Aratus it is always passive in sense (see Kidd on *Phaen.* 648).

ἀμητοῖο : this Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 19, 223) occurs also at Hesiod, *Op.* 384 and 575; Aratus, *Phaen.* 1061 (same *sedes*) and 1097; Ap. Rhod. 3, 418 and 436 (same *sedes*).

195-7 Carthage is the first of four places to receive special emphasis in the *Periegesis*. After Carthage D. highlights the Tiber and Rome, in the centre of the section on Europe (350-6), then the river Rhebas, towards the end of the section on northern Asia (793-6), and finally Troy, in the centre of the Asian section (815-8). D. underlines these sites using the device of epanalepsis, repeating the place-name three times in each case but the last, where Ἰλίον is repeated four times.

The significance which Carthage, Rome and Troy might hold for D. is more obvious than any which the Rhebas might, as it has been noted.⁶¹ Carthage was both historically important as a once mighty empire, crushed by Rome, and she was also of some significance within the tradition of epic poetry. D., however, makes no reference to the Punic wars or Rome's destruction of Carthage (ct. 210).

He alludes rather to the myth telling of its foundation by Dido. The Phoenician Dido was said to have fled from Tyre to Libya where she was sold as much land as she could measure using an ox-hide (cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1, 338ff., 365ff.). She supposedly cut the hide so as to form one long strip and thus was able to encompass a large stretch of land upon which she founded the citadel of Carthage. D.'s suppression of Dido's name and his focus upon the detail of the role of the ox-hide in the foundation of Carthage is somewhat riddling.

⁶¹On Dionysius' praise of the Rhebas, see E. L. Bowie 'Greek Poetry in the Antonine Age', in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature*, (Oxford, 1990), p. 75.

195 πολυήρατον : for the application of the epithet to places cf. Homer, *Od.* 11, 275, Θήβη πολυηράτω; Delphic Oracle 42, 2 Parke-Wormell (*ap.* Hdt. 4, 159), Λιβύην πολήρατον.

ἀμπέχει : = Homeric *hapax legomenon*. See *Od.* 6, 225, ἀμπέχει ὤμους / ; and the imitation at Ap. Rhod. 2, 1104, ἀμπέχετ' ὤμους/. Cf. Ap. Rhod. 2, 1103f., οὐρανὸν ἀχλύς / ἄμπεχεν.

196 Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 42:

ἢ δ' ἑτέρη ὀλίγη μὲν, ἀτὰρ ναύτησιν ἀρείων.

197 ἦν μῦθος : see also 144f.:

Κυανέας ὅθι μῦθος ἀναιδέας εἶν ἀλὶ πέτρας
πλαζομένας καναχηδὸν ἐπ' ἀλλήλησι φέρεσθαι.

Cf. Callim., *Fr.* 200b, 1 Pfeiffer, τὴν ὠγαμέμνων, ὥς ὁ μῦθος, εἶσατο. For the appeal to tradition cf., e.g., Aratus, *Phaen.* 98f.; 216; 260f.; 442; 637; 645; Callim., *Hymn* 5, 56; Ap. Rhod. 4, 984f.⁶²

μετρηθῆναι : cf. Homer, *Od.* 3, 179, μετρήσαντες / , = *hapax legomenon*; Aratus, *Phaen.* 497, μετρηθέντος / .

198-203 Bernays remarks that D. is alone in describing the Syrtis Major as that in which the distance between the high and low tides is so extreme.⁶³ Others, such as Procopius, he notes, attribute this peculiarity to the Syrtis Minor.⁶⁴ Cf. also Strabo, who states that there are shallows left exposed by the tides in both the Syrtes (17, 3, 20).

Ap. Rhod. does not specify in which Syrtis it is that his Argonauts become stranded (4, 1228ff.). Nevertheless, the position of the gulf, as he describes it, in relation to the coast opposite and the

⁶²On the form of the disclaimer at Aratus, *Phaen.* 637 see E. Maass, *Aratea* (Berlin, 1892), p. 259.

⁶³Bernays, *op. cit.* (above n. 12), p. 52f.

⁶⁴Procopius, *De Aedif.* 6, 4.

surrounding territory seems to indicate that he is referring to the Syrtis Major, although he may have combined characteristics of both the Syrtes in his description.⁶⁵ The episode from the *Argonautica* is clearly a source for D.'s own description here (see below on 203) and this may explain his confusion of the two Syrtes. See also below on 201.

198 ἄγάρροον : the epithet is used by Homer of the Hellespont alone at *Il.* 2, 845 and 12, 30. It is also used at *Hom. h. Cer.* 34 of the sea generally, at *A.P.* 7, 747 of the Tigris and at Quintus Smyrnaeus 10, 174 of a river in flood.

ὄλκόν : cf. the regular use of the noun in Nicander of the movement of a snake (*Ther.* 162, *et al.*).

198-9 ἐλίσσει / βαιοτέρη : cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 2, 368:

μειότερος λευκῇσιν ἐλίσσεται εἰς ἄλλα δίναις

Also Homer, *Od.* 11, 359, πλειοτέρη (same *sedes*) = *hapax legomenon*; Aratus, *Phaen.* 644, πλειότερος (same *sedes*); Callim., *Fr.* 757, πλειοτέρη; Nicander, *Ther.* 119, πλειοτέρη; Aratus, *Phaen.* 43, μειοτέρη (same *sedes*). See also 179, εὐρύτερον (same *sedes*).

199 ἔλκεται : the verb echoes ὄλκόν in 198. It is used regularly by Aratus of the stars 'sweeping' across the sky. Cf. esp. *Phaen.* 342 (=348), ἔλκεται Ἀργῶ/; 443, ἔλκεται ἄστρον/.

200-4 Three of these four verses are made up of only four words, and the concentration of them seems to be designed to emphasise the significance of the material. For the same concentration of four-word

⁶⁵See E. Delage, *La Géographie dans les Argonautiques d' Apollonius de Rhodes* (Paris, 1930), pp. 253-70.

lines see Hesiod, *Theog.* 315-18. It is worth noting that 206 and 209 are also four-word lines and D.'s description of the Syrtis Minor, therefore, contains a high proportion of such lines. There are 30 four-word lines in D. altogether.

200 ἄσπετος : cf. esp. Homer, *Od.* 5, 100f.:

τίς δ' ἄν ἐκὼν τοσσόνδε διαδράμοι ἄλμυρὸν ὕδωρ
ἄσπετον;

For the caesura after ἄσπετος in alt. *sedes* see also Hesiod, *Theog.* 697f.; Ap. Rhod. 1, 1284f.; 2, 83f.; 4, 1282f.

βαρυνομένη προχοῇσιν : also at 126. Cf. Callim., *Hymn* 4, 202, ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσι βαρυνομένην ὀρόωσα/; Ap. Rhod. 1, 11, ἐνισχόμενον προχοῇσιν/.

201 κορυσσομένης : also at 103. For κορύσσω of waters see esp. Homer, *Il.* 4, 422ff.:

᾿Ως δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχεί κῦμα θαλάσσης
ὄρνυτ' ἐπασσύτερον Ζεφύρου ὕπο κινήσαντος·
πόντῳ μὲν τε πρῶτα κορύσσεται . . .

Cf. *Il.* 21, 306, κόρυσσε δὲ κῦμα ῥόοιο; Ap. Rhod. 2, 70f., ἅτε κῦμα θαλάσσης / τρηχὺ θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα κορύσσεται; 4, 214f., ὅσσα τε πόντου / κύματα χειμερίοιο κορύσσεται ἐξ ἀνέμοιο.

Τυρσηνίδος ἀμφιτρίτης : cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 850, Τυρσηνίδος ἠπείροιο/.

The reference to the Tyrrhenian sea here confirms that D. confuses the two Syrtes, for it lies opposite the Syrtis Minor and not the Syrtis Major, as he implies.

ἀμφιτρίτης : also at 53, 99, 134, 169, 276, 297, 324, 481, 614, 706, 862, 1065. The word appears as a proper name in Hesiod (*Theog.*

243, 930) and Ap. Rhod. (4, 1325; 1355), and seems to carry a personal idea in Homer (*Od.* 3, 91 etc.), and Catullus (64, 11). In D., however, any such personal idea is absent (so too in Quintus Smyrn., 7, 374 etc., and [Oppian], *Cyn.* 1, 77 etc.). The noun always occupies the same *sedes*, so making a spondaic line.

202 ἄλλοτε μέν . . . ἄλλοτε δ' : cf. Homer, *Od.* 5, 331f., of winds at sea; Aratus, *Phaen.* 425f., of sailors in a storm.

πλημυρίς : also at 107 = Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Od.* 9, 486). Cf. Callim., *hymn* 4, 263 (same *sedes*); Ap. Rhod. 2, 576; 4, 1241; 1269.

203 D. clearly had in mind Ap. Rhod. 4, 1266, which also describes the ebb-tide in the Syrtis:

ξαινόμενον πολιῆσιν ἐπιτροχάει ψαμάθοισιν.

Although he introduces some variation in the first half of the line, D. echoes the ξ of Ap. Rhod.'s ξαινόμενον in ξηρῆσιν.

ἄμπωτις : cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 9 (ἀνάπωτιν); Callim., *Hymn* 4, 130.

204-7 Strabo writes that the island of Meninx, off the eastern promontory of the Syrtis Minor, was commonly believed to be inhabited by the Lotus-eaters named in the *Odyssey* (17, 3, 18). However, the Lotus-eaters were clearly associated with various different regions of Libya (cf. Hdt. 4, 177; Mela 1, 7; Pliny, *N.H.* 5, 4; Solinus 30; Strabo 17, 3, 8), and D. himself places the tribe inland of Neapolis, between the two Syrtes.

This is the first of several references in the *Periegesis* to specific episodes from the Homeric epic (cf. 360, 462 and 494).

Odysseus is named only here but he is one of the few individuals to enter the picture of the world which D. draws for us. Those individuals who are mentioned in the poem are often, like Odysseus, associated with travel or migration, e.g. Io (140), Diomedes (483ff.), and Medea (1022ff.). In this way, then, D.'s work not only takes the form of a *Periegesis* but also concerns itself with the process of periegesis.

204 μεσάτη : again at 251 and 856. The Attic form of the superlative occurs at Theoc., *Id.* 7, 10 (μεσάταν ὁδόν); 21, 19 (μέσατον δρόμον). The Homeric form is μεσσάτος (*Il.* 8, 223 = 11, 6). Cf. D. 296, μεσσατίης, and n. below.

ἐστήρικται : also at 495 and 551. For the same clausula see Hesiod, *Theog.* 779; Aratus, *Phaen.* 230, 274, 351, 500; Nicander, *Ther.* 20; Ap. Rhod., 4, 816; Callim., *Hymn* 2, 23. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 16, 111, ἐστήρικτο. The verb suggests a permanence which contrasts with the shifting tides of the Syrtis.⁶⁶

205 ἦν ῥά τε κικλήσκουσι : see also D. 343, ὃ ῥά τε κικλήσκουσιν. Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 245:

ὄν ῥά τε καὶ Σύνδεσμον ὑπουράνιον καλέουσιν.

Νέην πόλιν : Eustathius identifies this Neapolis with the town of Leptis Magna. This identification seems to be confirmed by Strabo, who tells us that a city named Neapolis lay between the two Syrtes and was known also by the name of Leptis (17, 3, 18).

206 φιλόξεينوι : cf. Homer, *Od.* 6, 121 (= 9, 176; 13, 202):

ἦε φιλόξεينوι καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;

⁶⁶See F. Williams, *Callimachus: Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford, 1978), p. 34: 'the verb στηρίζειν is the *mot juste* for a god fixing anything permanently or immovably.'

By describing the Lotus-eaters as φιλόξεينوι D. contrasts them in Homeric terms with the Nasamones whom he turns to next (see on 210). There may also be a certain irony in his use of the adjective of this people who were perhaps too φιλόξεينوι.

γεγαῶτες : the participle is Homeric (*Il.* 2, 866, etc.).

207 αἰολόμητις : the epithet is applied to Prometheus at Hesiod, *Theog.* 511, to Sisyphus at Hesiod *Fr.* 10, 2, and to Aphrodite at Aeschylus, *Supp.* 1036. D. here employs the adjective as a clever variation on one of the best known fixed epithets, πολύμητις (*Od.* 2, 173 etc.).

ἄλῳμενος ἦλθεν Ὀδυσσεύς : cf. esp. Homer, *Od.* 2, 333 (ἄλῳμενος ὥς περ Ὀδυσσεύς/), and *Od.* 6, 206 etc. (ἄλῳμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνει/).

208-10 The Nasamones were commonly situated to the east and south of the Syrtis Major (Hdt. 2, 32f.; 4, 171f; pseudo-Scylax 109; Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 33f.; Diod. Sic. 3, 49; Strabo 2, 5, 33 and 17, 3, 20 etc.). They were said to plunder the ships which were wrecked on the shores of the Syrtis, and became synonymous with the harsh wilderness of Libya (Callim., *Fr.* 602, 1; Lucan, 9, 439ff.; Silius Italicus, 1, 408f.; *A. P.* 7, 626, 1. Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 1496, Νασάμων).⁶⁷

The only Roman defeat of this tribe which the surviving sources relate is that by the praetor Flaccus under Domitian in A.D. 86 (Zonaras 11, 19).

⁶⁷On the Nasamones and other tribes of northeastern Libya as represented in the ancient Greek and Roman sources see F. Colin, *Les Peuples libyens de la Cyrénaïque à l'Égypte* (Brussels, 2000)

208-9 ἐρημωθέντα μέλαθρα / ἀνδρῶν : cf. Aesch., *Ag.* 260, ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνου; Eurip., *And.* 805, πατρός τ' ἐρημωθεῖσα. The verb is not attested in Epic outside D.

209 D. perhaps had in mind the similar address at Aratus, *Phaen.* 451:

ταῦτα κε θήσαιο παρερχομένων ἐνιαυτῶν

ἀθρήσειας : also at 319, 667, 851. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 12, 391; 14, 334; Ar. Rhod. 4, 467, ἀθρήσειε (same *sedes*).

ἀποφθιμένων Νασαμώνων : cf. Homer, *Od.* 24, 88, ἀποφθιμένου βασιλῆος /; Ar. Rhod. 2, 852, ἀποφθιμένου ἐτάριοιο /; Theoc., *Id.* 22, 141, ἀποφθιμένου Ἀφαρῆος /.

210 Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντας : cf. Homer, *Od.* 9, 275:

οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν

The parallel between the Nasamones and the Cyclopes is made all the more clear by the fact that D. has just made mention of Odysseus' encounter with the Lotus-eaters, which of course immediately precedes the hero's meeting with Polyphemus in Homer.

211 Ἀσβύσται : on this Cyrenaican tribe see Hdt. 4, 170ff.; Pliny, *N.H.* 5, 5; Strabo 2, 5, 33; Callim., *Hymn* 2, 76; *Frr.* 37, 1; 384, 6 Pfeiffer; Lycophron, *Alex.* 848; 895.

D.'s reference to the Asbystae provides the first suggestion that in composing his description of Cyrenaica he had in mind the Argonautic myth of the foundation of Cyrene. At *Alexandra* 895 Lycophron tells of a prophecy said to have been delivered to the Argonauts by Triton, on the god's having received from them the gift of a mixing-bowl. The prophecy stated that when a descendant of the

Argonauts recovered the gift, one hundred Greek settlements would be built around Lake Tritonis (cf. Callim., *Fr.* 37), in northern Libya.⁶⁸ In order to prevent the fulfilment of the prophecy, the Asbystae, according to Lycophron, hid the gift. The same story is narrated at Hdt. 4, 179.

A similar account of Cyrene's foundation appears in Pindar, *Pythian* 4, which celebrates a chariot-race victory for Arcesilaüs IV, son of Battus IV, King of Cyrene. Pindar's Medea tells of how Triton gave the Argonaut Euphamus a clod of Libyan soil, which was washed overboard and landed on the island of Thera. She then prophesies that Euphamus is to father a race in Lemnos, a race which is to move to Thera, and will include the future founder of Cyrene (13-56. Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 1547ff. and 1731ff.). Having related Medea's words Pindar tells of the expedition of the Argonauts and the fulfilment of this prophecy (70-264). D.'s reference to Cyrene as εὐίππος in 213 and to the temple of Zeus Ammon in 212 in terms similar to those used by Pindar of the same temple (see nn. below) seems to suggest that D. had in mind this Ode.

The connection between Cyrene and Argonautic myth was not inevitable. In *Pythians* 5 and 9, Pindar again handles the foundation of Cyrene, focusing on Battus and the city's Spartan origins in the fifth, and relating another myth entirely in the ninth (cf. Ap. Rhod. 2, 498ff.).⁶⁹

μεσήπειροι : see also 1068. The adjective seems to have been coined by D. Cf. Aeschylus, *Pers.* 889, μεσάκτους.

⁶⁸On this lake and its exact situation cf. Herodotus 4, 178 and How & Wells *ad loc.* See also Apollonius Rhodius 4, 1391 and Livrea *ad loc.*

⁶⁹ On these and other treatments of the various legends surrounding the foundation of Cyrene see C. Calame, *Mythe et histoire dans l'Antiquité grecque: La création symbolique d'une colonie* (Lausanne, 1996).

212 τέμενος Λιβυκοῖο θεοῦ : D. is referring to the temple of Zeus Ammon at Siwa, which was situated a journey of ten days west of Thebes by Hdt. (4, 181) and in Cyrenaica, 400 miles from Cyrene itself, by Pliny (*N. H.*, 5, 5. Cf. Mela 1, 8). The temple was famous for its oracle (Hdt. 1, 46; 2, 55; Strabo 1, 3, 4, etc.), yet Strabo tells us that by his time it had fallen into disuse (17, 1, 43).

τέμενος : D. seems to have had in mind Medea's words to Jason in reference to the same temple at Pindar, *P.* 4, 56: τέμενος Κρονίδα (see on 211 above).

ψαμάθω ὑπο πολλῇ : cf. Homer, *Od.* 14, 136, ψαμάθω εἴλυμένα πολλῇ.

Eustathius suggests that D. may be hinting at the derivation of the name 'Ammon' by some from the Greek word for sand ἄμμος.⁷⁰ For a similar instance of possible word-play in D. see below on 220. It is worth noting, however, that the abandoned oracle seems to have been commonly associated with an abundance of sand. Cf. Propertius 4, 1, 103, *harenosum Libyci Iovis antrum*; Catullus 7, 3ff.:

*quam magnus numerus Libyssae harenae
lasarpiciferis iacet Cyrenis,
oraclum Iovis inter aestuosi
et Batti veteris sacrum templum . . .*

213 εὔππος : although Libya, and in particular Cyrene, were generally noted for their horses and horsemen (e.g., Hdt. 4, 189; Pindar, *P.* 9, 4; Strabo 17, 3, 21; Pausanias 6, 12, 7), D. has in mind this same epithet as applied to Cyrene at Pindar, *P.* 4, 2 and Callim., *Fr.* 716, 2 Pfeiffer. The word appears first as a proper name in Homer (*Il.* 16, 417), and as an adjective at *Hom. Hymn* 3, 210.

⁷⁰ On the proper derivation of 'Ammon' cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 354c-d; Vossius, *De Origine Idolatriae* 1, 1; *RE* 1, coll. 1853-7.

Ἀμυκλαίων : Amyclae was a town situated immediately to the south of Sparta, famous for its temple of Apollo. D. uses ‘Amyclaeon’ for ‘Spartan’ throughout the poem (see similarly Sil. Ital. 6, 504 *et al.*). He here points to the legend, alluded to in Callim. (*Fr.* 716) and mentioned above (see on 211), according to which Cyrene was founded by settlers from the Spartan colony of Thera.

Ἀμυκλαίων ἔδος ἀνδρῶν : cf. Homer, *Il.* 5, 360 and 8, 456, ἀθανάτων ἔδος ἐστί(ν)/.

Tsavari’s suggestion that the v. l. γένος, adopted by Müller, is attested by Priscian (198: *urbis Amyclaeae populus quam condidit olim*) is mistaken.

214 Μαρμαρίδαι : this tribe seems to have inhabited the area which extended between Cyrenaica and Egypt (Diod. Sic. 3, 49, 14; Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 5; Strabo 2, 5, 33; 17, 3, 23).

προνενευκότες : cf. 1149, προνένευκεν ἐπ’ ὤκεανόν, of the jut of a promontory; Nicander, *Ther.* 374, ἐπιπρονένευκε, of the jut of a chin. D. here seems to be describing the territory of the Marmaridae as ‘jutting in front of’ Egypt as one approaches along the coast from the west.

215-17 Saving his description of Egypt until the end of his account of Libya, D. now turns to the inland tribes of the continent. He begins in the north and ends with the Ethiopians in the southeast.

215 Γαίτουλοι : the Gaetuli were regarded as one of the largest, if not the largest, of the Libyan tribes, and the northernmost of the tribes of the interior (Strabo 2, 5, 33; 17, 3, 2; Mela 1, 4; Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 8).

ἄγχίγυοι : also at 959. The adjective appears to have been coined by Ap. Rhod. (1, 1222). Later see Nonnus, *Dion.* 3, 44.

Νίγρητες : Strabo situates the Nigretes, together with the Pha(u)rusians, whom D. goes on to name, south of the Gaetuli and north of the western Ethiopians (2, 5, 33; 17, 3, 7). Mela similarly locates the Nigretes and Pha(u)rusians immediately north of the Ethiopians in the west (Mela 1, 4; 3, 10). Pliny, on the other hand, makes them tribes of the Ethiopians in the east (*N. H.* 5, 8).

216 Φαυρούσιοι : like the Nigretes, the Pha(u)rusians are situated north of the western Ethiopians by Strabo (17, 3, 7) and Mela (1.4), but described by Pliny as tribes of the eastern Ethiopians (5, 8).

ὑπὸ γαῖαν : the v. l. ὑπὲρ αἶαν , widely attested in the MSS and adopted by Müller, seems to fit better with D.'s eastward progression and the location of the Garamantes as described by the ancient sources (see below).

217 Γαράμαντες : the Garamantes were another large Libyan tribe who were commonly situated in the east of the interior (Hdt. 4, 183; Strabo 17, 3, 23; Mela 1, 4; Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 8).

Garamas, the legendary ancestor of the Garamantes is mentioned at Ap. Rhod. 4, 1494.

ἄπειριτοι : a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Od.* 10, 195, ἄπειριτος ἐστεφάνωται/). D. imitates the *Od.* passage closely at 4 and 430 (ἄπ. ἐστεφάνωται/). Cf. also 616; 635; 659; 666; 1030; 1062; Ap. Rhod. 3, 971; 1239; 4, 140; 682 (always in the same *sedes*).

ἐν δὲ μυχοῖσι : cf. Pindar, *P.* 6, 49, ἐν μυχοῖσι Πιερίδων/; v. l. at *TrGF* II 281, 1 Kannicht-Snell, ἐν γῆς φίλης μυχοῖσι.

218-21 D. seems to have had in mind Theoc., *Id.* 7, 113-14:

ἐν δὲ θέρει πυμάτοισι παρ' Αἰθιόπεσσι νομεύοις
πέτραι ὑπο Βλεμύων, ὅθεν οὐκετι Νεῖλος ὁρατός.

Theoc. here provides us with the earliest extant reference to the Blemyes, on whom see below on 220.⁷¹

218 βόσκοντ' : cf. 188 and n. *ad loc.*

πανύστατοι Αἰθιοπῆες : cf. Homer, *Od.* 1, 23, Αἰθίοπας . . .
ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν; Theoc., *Id.* 7, 113, πυμάτοισι παρ' Αἰθιόπεσσι.

The south-eastern corner of Libya was commonly held to be occupied by Ethiopians. Authorities differ as to the existence of another group of Ethiopians in the west of Libya (Strabo 1, 2, 24-8; above on 180). D. here makes no allusion to the fact that he is describing one group as opposed to another, as he does above. The brief references to this people in D. stand in marked contrast to the fuller treatments of the Ethiopians and Ethiopia offered by geographers and historians in antiquity (cf., e.g., Hdt. 3, 17-26; Strabo 17, 1, 53-2, 3; Mela 3, 9-10; Diod. Sic. 3, 2-37).⁷²

219 τέμπεα = 'valley' also at 916 and 1017. This usage is first attested at Theoc., *Id.* 1, 67, where the poet refers both to the real Tempe, the valley of the river Peneus in Thessaly between Mount Ossa and Mount Olympus, and at the same time to the valley of the Pindus river in the same word (κατὰ Πηνειῷ καλὰ τέμπεα, ἢ κατὰ Πίνδῳ).⁷³ Cicero later uses τέμπεα in this wider sense,

⁷¹On Theocritus' understanding of the location of the sources of the Nile see R.L. Hunter, *Theocritus: A Selection* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 186. Cf. A. S. F. Gow *Theocritus II* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 159-60.

⁷²On the extent to which the Ethiopians figured in the imaginations of the ancient Greeks and Romans see F.M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 101ff.

⁷³On Theoc. 's verse as attesting to an 'intermediate stage' in the application of the word see Hunter, *op. cit.* (above n. 71), p. 88.

without any reference to its origins as a place-name (*Att.* 4, 15, 5), and this usage was also imitated by Roman poets (Virgil, *Georg.* 2, 469; Horace, *Od.* 3, 1, 24, etc.).

Κέρνης : D. here appears to situate Cerne on the mainland, and indeed he does not mention it in his discussion of the islands. Most other ancient writers, however, refer to it as an island, although they differ as to its position. For example, Pliny tells us that Polybius and others situate it off the west coast of Libya, in the Atlantic Ocean, while he himself describes it as lying in the Ethiopian Sea, to the south of Libya (*N. H.* 6, 36. Cf. pseudo-Scylax 112 for earlier evidence of the view supported by Pliny). Diod. Sic. does relate an account by Dionysius Scytobrachion (*FGrHist* 32 F7), who, like D., appears to place Cerne on the mainland but in the far west of Libya. It seems clear that there was no consensus as to its whereabouts. Indeed Strabo questions the existence of Cerne altogether (1, 3, 2).

220 αἰθαλέων : the adjective seems to be Hellenistic. Excluding emendations and glosses it is only otherwise attested at Ap. Rhod. 4, 777, Nicander, *Ther.* 750, and A. P. 7, 48, 1 (Anon.). αἰθαλος is more common and at *Ther.* 174 Nicander describes the asp as growing αἰθαλόεσσα from the Ethiopian soil where it dwells. Eustathius notes *ad loc.* that αἰθαλέος and Αἰθίοψ both stem from the verb αἶθω, a fact which D. is perhaps playing on here.

Βλεμύων : D. seems to locate this tribe on the borders of Egypt and Ethiopia. Other ancient sources differ somewhat as to their precise location. Theoc. places them south of the sources of the Nile (*Id.* 7, 113f., above on 218-21). According to Eratosthenes, on the other hand, they lived either side of the Nile, between the island of Meroë and the Red Sea (*Fr.* III B 51 Berger = Strabo 17, 1, 2). Strabo later

mentions them among the nomadic Ethiopian tribes inhabiting southern Egypt (17, 1, 53). Mela too makes them nomadic (1, 4), but, like Pliny (*N. H.* 5, 8), locates them in the interior of the continent. Their nomadic lifestyle has been adduced as the reason for the differing statements concerning their location.⁷⁴

ἀνέχουσι κολῶναι : cf. 150, δύω ἀνέχουσι κολῶναι/, where the imitation of Ap. Rhod. 3, 161, δοίω δὲ πόλον ἀνέχουσι κάρηνα/, is obvious. Campbell *ad loc.* notes that this is one of many ‘*Apolloniana*’ in D. 148ff.⁷⁵ Cf. also Ap. Rhod. 1, 601, Ἄθω ἀνέτελλε κολώνη/.

κολῶναι : for the use of the word of hills or mountains (always in the same *sedes*) see also Homer, *Il.* 2, 811; 11, 711; Aratus, *Phaen.* 120; 642; 989; Ap. Rhod. 1, 601; 1114; 1120; 2, 164; 357; 3, 581; 879 ; Theoc., *Id.* 17, 68.

220-1 κολῶναι/ . . . Νείλου : Eustathius notes *ad loc.* that D. is here referring to cataracts of the Nile. Strabo, Diod. Sic., Pliny and Amm. Marcellinus similarly mention cataracts as lying south of Syene (Strabo 17, 1, 3; Diod. Sic. 1, 32; Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 54; Amm. Marcellinus 14, 4, 3).

221 D. probably had in mind Callim., *Hymn* 4, 208, which seems to describe the same cataracts:

Νεῖλος ἀπὸ κρημνοῖο κατέρχεται Αἰθιοπῆος.

πιετᾶτοιο : the superlative is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (Homer, *Il.* 9, 573) later attested at Hesiod, *Op.* 585; Bacchylides, *Ep.* 2, 2 = *A.P.* 6, 53, 2; Nicander, *Alex.* 10.

⁷⁴See Snowden, *op. cit.* (above n. 72), p. 117.

⁷⁵For the same observation see also E. Maass, *op. cit.* (above n. 62), p. 133, n. 32.

221-31 D. devotes these lines to a description of the river Nile itself, which leads him northwards into Egypt. Various ancient geographers and historians also dedicated substantial portions of their works to the Nile, particularly to discussions of the river's sources (above on 220-1 and below on 222) and the causes of its rising (e.g., Hdt. 2, 19-25; Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 10; Strabo 17, 1, 5; Diod. Sic. 1, 36-41). D., however, does not even touch on the reasons for the river's rising and only hints at his location of the sources of the Nile.

222 ὅς δ' ἦτοι : if we take ὅς as demonstrative, we should perhaps punctuate with a full stop after Νείλου at the end of the preceding line (cf. Homer, *Il.* 7, 451; Hesiod, *Theog.* 142; Aratus, *Phaen.* 28 etc.). On the other hand, if we take ὅς here as relative, we should read δὴ τοι and not δ' ἦτοι (cf. Homer, *Il.* 10, 316; 22, 12; 24, 731; Hesiod, *Op.* 1015 etc.). On δ' ἦτοι and δὴ τοι see Denniston, pp. 552f. and W. Bühler, *Die Europa des Moschos*, *Hermes* 13 (1960), pp. 228ff., esp. 230: 'δὴ τοι auch nach demonstrativem Pronomen stehen kann (während andererseits nach Relativpronomen δὴ τοι stehen muß)'.

Λιβύηθεν : for the form see also Theoc., *Id.* 1, 24; Nicander, *Alex.* 368 (same *sedes*).

Λιβύηθεν ἐπ' ἀντολίην : these words seem to suggest that D. believed the Nile's source to be in western Libya, sometimes treated as distinct from Egypt and Ethiopia. This view was an established one. Hdt. held that the Nile flowed across Libya from the west before reaching Ethiopia and turning northwards, so that its course was a mirror image of that of the Ister (Danube) in Europe, as he saw it (2, 33-4).⁷⁶ Similarly Pliny reports that Juba, king of Mauretania under

⁷⁶ See A. B., Lloyd *ad loc.* (*Herodotus Book II*, Vol. II, [Leiden, 1976]) and J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (Rome, 1978), pp. 138-9, on Promathus of Samos (7th/6th cent. B.C.) as possibly the first to locate the Nile's sources in western Libya.

Augustus, had established that the river originated in Mauretania and ran underground across most of the continent: *originem, ut Iuba rex potuit exquirere, in monte inferioris Mauretaniae non procul oceano habet lacu protinus stagnante, quem vocant Niliden ... ex hoc lacu profusus indignatur fluere per harenosa et squalentia, conditque se aliquot dierum itinere, mox alio lacu maiore in Caesariensis Mauretaniae gente Masaesylum erumpit ... iterum harenis receptus conditur rursus xx dierum desertis ad proximos Aethiopas, atque ubi iterum sensit hominem, prosilit fonte, ut verisimile est, illo quem Nigrum vocavere* (Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 10. Cf. Strabo 17, 3, 4). Pomponius Mela offers a similar account of the Nile's course (3, 9), but at the same time suggests that the sources of the river were situated in southern Ethiopia (1, 9), which was another popular belief.⁷⁷

ἐπ' ἀντολίην πόλυσ ἔρπων : the phonetics and rhythm of these words recall in particular Nicander, *Ther.* 717:

κέκληται πισσῆεν, ἐπασσύτεροις ποσὶν ἔρπων·

See also above on 174.

223 Σῖρις ὑπ' Αἰθιόπων : Pliny too mentions the name Siris in reference to the Nile. He is unclear as to the exact stretch of river to which it was applied and amongst whom it was used (*N. H.* 5, 10). To the south of the cataracts lying near the border of Egypt and Ethiopia (see above on 220-1), the Nile divided into two rivers running either side of the island of Meroë, the Astaboras on the eastern side and the Astapus on the western.⁷⁸ Pliny tells us that for some distance above and below this point the Nile was known as the Siris and his account fits with D.'s statement here. Pomponius Mela, however, indicates that

⁷⁷See A. Silberman, *Pomponius Mela: Chorographie* (Paris, 1988), p. 131.

⁷⁸Eratosthenes is our earliest source for the Astapus and Astaboras rivers (see Strabo 17, 1, 2).

it was northwards from this confluence of the Astapus and Astaboras rivers that the name 'Nile' was applied (1, 9).

κικλήσκειται : cf. Homer, *Od.* 15, 403; Ap. Rhod. 3, 200 (same *sedes*).

Συήνης : now known as Aswan, Syene was an Egyptian city sitting on the eastern bank of the Nile, beside the border with Ethiopia. Strabo tells us that at the summer solstice the sun was vertical to the city (2, 5, 36-7), and it was through Syene that the ancients drew their main line of latitude. On the city generally see also Mela 1, 60; Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 10; Strabo 17, 1, 48 and 54.

224 ἐνναέται : also at 397 and 952. The noun is not attested before the Hellenistic period (9x in Ap. Rhod. and 3/4x in Callim.),⁷⁹ but Livrea on Ap. Rhod 4, 1174 suggests that it was modelled upon the Homeric *hapax* περιναιέτης (*Il.* 24, 488) and the Hesiodic μεταναιέτης (*Theog.* 401).

στρεφθέντα μετ' οὔνομα : cf. Homer, *Il.* 12, 428:

ἤμην ὅτεω στρεφθέντι μετάφρενα γυμνωθείη.

225 Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 68:

χεῖρες εἶρονται, τάνυσταί γε μὲν ἄλλυδισ ἄλλη.

ἄλλυδισ ἄλλη: the clausula is Homeric (*Il.* 13, 279 etc.). D., however, may have had in mind the description of the river Thermodon at Ap. Rhod. 2, 980, αἰεὶ ἄλλυδισ ἄλλη (see below on 228-9 for further parallels with the same passage of Ap. Rhod.).

226 ἐπτὰ διὰ στομάτων : D. seems to have had in mind the description of the river Rhodanus (Rhône) at Ap. Rhod. 4, 634:

⁷⁹On the Callimachus attestations see A.S. Hollis who suggests that the Suda gloss s.v. be attributed to the *Hecale* (*Callimachus: Hecale* (Oxford, 1990), Appendix V, p. 359).

ἑπτὰ διὰ στομάτων ἔει ῥόον.

Livrea notes *ad loc.*: ‘Al solito, le bocche di questo fiume sono indicate con numeri assai diversi . . .’ The Nile was no exception. D. credits the river with seven mouths, as in fact do most ancient authorities (Diod. Sic. 1, 33f.; Hdt. 2, 17; Mela 1, 9; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 422 and 15, 713; Strabo 17, 1, 18-23). There were those, however, who gave the Nile 12 mouths (Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 11). For other rivers also attributed with seven streams see, e.g., Strabo 4, 1, 8 and 7, 3, 15; Virgil, *Aeneid* 9, 30.

εἰλιγμένος εἰς ἄλα πίπτει : these words echo Hesiod’s description of the Styx at *Theog.* 791:

δίνης ἀργυρέης εἰλιγμένος εἰς ἄλα πίπτει

For εἰλιγμένος alone see the description of the river Cephissus in Hesiod, *Fr.* 70, 23 Merkelbach-West, εἰλιγμένος εἴσι δράκων ὥς, which finds echoes in the simile likening the Argo to a snake at Ap. Rhod. 4, 1541:

ὥς δὲ δράκων σκολιὴν εἰλιγμένος ἔρχεται οἶμον

The participle is also attested at Eurip. *Fr.* 382, 7 Nauck.

227 The fertility of the Nile was legendary. According to Strabo Aristobulus of Cassandreia⁸⁰ asserted that the river produced huge creatures and caused the Egyptian people to be more fertile (15, 1, 22). Other authorities attest the belief that many life-forms, including man, originated from the alluvial soil enriched by the river (Diod. Sic. 5, 10; Mela 1, 9. Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 267-71). It is characteristic of D., however, to avoid fantastical detail.

⁸⁰*FGrHist* 139. Aristobulus was a contemporary of Alexander the Great and, having served under him in Asia, he wrote a history of his life.

228-9 D. echoes Ap. Rhod.'s description of the Thermodon at 2, 972f.:

τῷ δ' οὔτις ποταμῶν ἐναλίγκιος οὐδὲ ῥέεθρα
τόσσ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἴησι παρέξ ἔθην ἄνδιχα βάλλων.

He is perhaps playing on the idea that the two rivers are unlike others by suggesting that in this respect they are alike.

230-1 D. creates a symmetry between these two lines by placing the names of the two continents in the same *sedes* in each. The repetition and symmetry emphasises the division which is being drawn between Libya and Asia. This division is also emphasised by the assonance in λίβα μὲν Λιβύην at one end of 231 and in αὐγὰς 'Ασίδα at the other.

For D.'s use of repetition to underline division and verbal symmetry as a reflection of physical symmetry cf. esp. 661-2 describing the river Tanais:

ὅστε καὶ Εὐρώπην ἀποτέμνεται Ἀσίδος αἴης
ἐς δύσιν Εὐρώπην, ἐς δ' αὐγὰς Ἀσίδα γαῖαν.

On the Nile as the boundary between Libya and Asia see above on 174-269.

230 ὅς ῥά τε καὶ : cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 226 (ὅς ῥά τε καὶ) and 245 (ὅν ῥά τε καὶ). The same cluster of particles begins D. 15, 25, 800, and 1089. See also 205 (ἦν ῥά τε κικλήσκουσιν) and n. below on 343 (ὅ ῥά τε κικλήσκουσιν).

ἀποτέμνεται : D. perhaps had in mind the description of the Egyptian empire at Theoc., *Id.* 17, 86f.:

καὶ μὲν Φοινίκας ἀποτέμνεται Ἀρραβίας τε
καὶ Συρίας Λιβύας τε κελαινῶν τ' Αἰθιοπῶν.

'Ασίδος αἴης : the final clausula occurs 6x in D. For similar clausulae in D. see 25, 'Ασιήτιδος αἴης; 46, .Παμφυλίδος αἴης; 805, Μυσίδος αἴης; 957 and 1038, Περσίδος αἴης; 1148, Κωλίδος αἴης. Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 337, Νέστιδος αἴης, and 568, Φλειουντίδος αἴης, modelled upon Homer, *Il.* 15, 740, πατρίδος αἴης. D. perhaps also had in mind here Ap. Rhod. 1, 444 and 2, 777, 'Ασίδος ἡπείροιο.

231 λίψ was the name given to the southwest wind, identified by the Romans with *Africus* (Seneca, *N. Q.* 5, 16, 5; Pliny, *N. H.* 2, 46, etc.). D. seems to hint here at the derivation of the name from Λιβύη (cf. [Aristotle], *Vent.* 973b11: Λίψ. καὶ οὗτος τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Λιβύης, ὅθεν πνεῖ), or that of Λιβύη from λίψ (cf. Isid., *Or.* 14, 5, 1).

232-7 The triple repetition here of πρῶτοι balances the triple repetition of οὐ in the description of the Nomades at the beginning of the Libyan section (190-2). D. seems to wish to underline that it is just those civilizing arts the Nomades lack that the Egyptians invented. Later he describes the Phoenicians using language similar to that used here of the Egyptians (905ff.), drawing certain parallels between these two peoples, by making the Egyptians the inventors of agriculture and astronomy, and the Phoenicians the inventors of navigation and trade by sea. There are also metrical parallels between the two passages. D. employs successive σπονδειάζοντες at 235-6 and at 908-10. In both cases the metrical pattern seems to underline the claim to achievement.

In portraying the Egyptians as the inventors of agriculture and astronomy D. ascribes to them the antiquity and cultural priority

which was commonly attributed to them (see e.g. Hdt. 2, *passim*; Diod. Sic. 1, 69; Apuleius, *Met.* 11, 5).

It was widely believed that every art had its inventor, and the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* appears not only as a motif in ancient poetry (see, e.g. Aeschylus, *P.* V. 447ff.; Callim., *Aetia* 110, 47ff.; Horace, *Ode* 1, 3, 9ff.), but also as the subject of philosophical works (see Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1, 16, 77, 1-2, on the *περὶ εὐρημάτων* of Aristotle and others, and Pliny, *N. H.* 7, 57). On the theme of the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* in ancient literature see A. Kleingünther, *Πρῶτος εὐρετής. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung*, *Philologus* Suppl. 26, 1 (1933). D. here offers a variation on the theme by ascribing the role of *πρῶτος εὐρετής* to an entire people.

Throughout these verses D. seems to have had in mind Aratus' prologue, esp. *Phaen.* 6ff.:

λαοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει
μιμνήσκων βιότοιο, λέγει δ' ὅτε βῶλος ἀρίστη
βουσί τε καὶ μακέλησι, λέγει δ' ὅτε δεξιαὶ ὥραι
καὶ φυτὰ γυρῶσαι καὶ σπέρματα πάντα βαλέσθαι.
αὐτὸς γὰρ τά γε σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν
ἄστρα διακρίνας

On D.'s imitation of these same verses in the epilogue to the *Periegesis* see Introduction, pp. 26f.

232 *πέρι* : the v. l. *πάρα*, widely attested in the MSS and adopted by Müller, is also better supported by the Greek paraphrase (*παροικοῦσι*) and Priscian's translation (221: *Hunc habitant juxta*). For *περιναιετάουσιν* see below on 330.

ναιετάουσιν : for *ναιετάω* as an 'artificial' form see Kirk on Homer, *Il.* 4, 45.

ναιετάουσιν . . . γένος : for this type of *constructio ad sensum* see, e.g., Homer, *Il.* 7, 434-6; Thucydides 5, 60; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3, 3, 4.

ἀριπρεπέων : the adjective appears 9x in Homer. Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 1192, ἀριπρεπέων ἡρώων, which, as Livrea notes, is not Homeric.

233 συνεστήσαντο : Tsavari's suggestion that this reading is attested by Avienus (353: *notavit*) and Priscian (222: *disposuere*) is misleading. Both translations might equally well support the v. l. διεστήσαντο, attested by Eustathius and adopted by Müller. Given that συνίστημι is the verb regularly used of the action of a πρῶτος εὐρετής (e.g., Diog. Laert. 2, 47, 7; Athenaeus 8, 46, 9; Diod. Sic. 16, 3, 2f.), it might be preferable to adopt διεστήσαντο as the *lectio difficilior*. It is worth noting that attestations of συνίστημι are usually restricted to prose whereas δίστημι is Homeric. D., however, was perhaps thinking here of Aratus, *Phaen.* 11, διακρίνας (see above on 232-7).

βιότοιο . . . κελεύθους : the metaphor is common in poetry (e.g., Euripides, *H. F.* 433, βίου κέλευθον ἄθεον ἄδικον; Pindar, *N.* 8, 35-6, κελεύθοις ἀπλόαις ζωᾶς; *Anacreonta* 38,2, βιότου τρίβον; A. P. 9, 359, βιότοιο τρίβον). D., however, perhaps had in mind specifically Empedocles, *Fr.* 115, 8 Diels-Kranz:

ἀργαλέας βιότοιο μεταλλάσσοντα κελεύθους.

He may also again have been thinking of Aratus' prologue (see above on 232-7).

D. contrasts the order of the Egyptians with the disordered animal behaviour of the Nomades (193). For Strabo similarly what sets the Egyptians apart from the nomadic Ethiopians seems to be

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ἐπειρήθησαν : verbs for ploughing are frequently applied to sailing in Greek and Latin (e.g., Aesch., *Suppl.* 1007, ἀροῦν; Virgil, *Aen.* 2, 780 etc., *arare*), and D. here seems to play on the familiar metaphor by referring to ploughing using a verb applied to sailing at Ap. Rhod. 1, 113f.:

τῷ καὶ πασάων προφερεστάτῃ ἔπλετο νῆων,
ὅσσαι ὑπ' εἰρεσίῃσιν ἐπειρήσαντο θαλάσσης.

For the parallel between the Argo's trial of, or attempt on, the sea and the ploughing of the soil see Virgil, *Eclogue* 4, 31ff.:

*Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis
quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo
delectos heroas.*

For Aratus agriculture contrasts with sea-faring, which is a symbol of decline (cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 236f.), and, as Kidd notes *ad loc.*, Latin poets hence develop the theme of sea-faring as a crime (Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 5, 1006; Virgil, *Ecl.* 4, 31ff.; Horace, *Od.* 1, 3, 21ff.; Propertius, 1, 17ff.; Tibullus, 1, 3, 37f.; Ovid, *Met.* 1, 94f.). Virgil interestingly makes both sea-faring and the cultivation of the soil symbols of a corrupted age (*loc. cit.*).

In the following verse D.'s choice of language continues to suggest a play on parallels between sea-faring and ploughing (see below on ἰθυτάτης and ἀπλώσαντο). Cf. the description of the Parthians at 1040ff., where he makes the parallels more explicit:

Πάρθοι ναιετάουσιν ἀρήιοι, ἀγκυλότοξοι,
 παντοίου πολέμοιο δαήμονες· οὐ γὰρ ἀρότρῳ
 αὔλακ' ἐπιθύνουσι, διασχίζοντες ἀρούρας,
 οὐδὲ μὲν ἐν νήεσσιν ἄλα τμήγουσιν ἐρετμοῖς,
 οὐδὲ νομῶ φέρβουσι βοῶν γένος·

235-6 Only 10% of lines in D. are σπονδειαῖζοντες.⁸¹ The appearance of two such lines in succession is therefore striking.⁸² For D.'s use of successive σπονδειαῖζοντες elsewhere see esp. the description of the Phoenicians at 908-10 (as noted above on 232-7), and the opening of D.'s section on the islands at 450-5, where five of these six lines are σπονδειαῖζοντες.

235 σπόρον : 'seed', cf. Ap. Rhod. 3, 413 (same *sedes*), *et al.*; [Theoc.] 25, 25; Quintus of Smyrna 4, 427; Nonnus, *Dion.* 32, 72, *et al.* Chryssafis on [Theoc.] 25, 25 notes that the word is not Homeric.

ἰθυτάτης : a straight furrow is the sign of a good ploughman, as Hesiod explains at *Op.* 443.:

ὅς κ' ἔργου μελετῶν ἰθεῖάν κ' αὔλακ' ἐλαύνει

D. perhaps also had in mind here Aratus' description of the Phoenicians as similarly sailing the straightest courses at sea, *Phaen.*

44 : τῇ καὶ Σιδόνιοι ἰθύντατα ναυτίλλονται.

The superlative ἰθύντατα is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 18, 508).

ἀπλώσαντο : Tsavari's reference to the *Anacreontea* should read 4 [18], 5 (ἄργυρον δ' ἀπλώσας); 48 [39], 22 (νόον ἀπλώσας) Bergk.⁸³ D., however, might here again be playing on

⁸¹See M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982), p. 178 for how this compares with other poets of the imperial period.

⁸²For consecutive σπονδειαῖζοντες in other poets see Gow on Theocritus, *Id.* 13, 42.

⁸³4, [18], 5 Bergk = 5, 5 West (ἄργυρον δ' ἀπλώσας); 48 [39], 22 Bergk = 50, 22 West.

parallels between agriculture and seafaring. See Moschus, *Europa* 59f.:

ὄρνις ἀγαλλόμενος πτερύγων πολυανθεί
τὰς ὄγ' ἀναπλώσας ὥσεί τέ τις ὠκύαλος νῆυς.

Cf. Orph., *Arg.* 360, ἰστίᾳ δ' ἀπλῶσαι; 278, ἐρετμοὺς ἠπλώσαντο (same *sedes*). The absence of the temporal augment is common in Epic (P. Chantraine, *Grammaire Homerique* I (Paris, 1958), pp. 479 and 482ff.).

236-7 Cf.D.'s description of the Phoenicians at 909:

βαθὺν οὐρανίων ἄστρων χορὸν ἐφράσσαντο.

Strabo asserts that the Phoenicians were the inventors of astronomy (16, 2, 24). However, Diod. Sic. states that the discovery of astronomy can be attributed to the Egyptians (1, 50 and 69). Pliny distinguishes different branches of astronomy, assigning to the Milesians the discovery of the celestial sphere, to the Phoenicians the use of the stars in navigation, and other areas of astronomy to the Libyans, Egyptians or Assyrians (*N. H.* 7, 57) . Similarly D. appears to recognize distinct branches within the field of astronomy. While he traces the origins of navigation back to the Phoenicians, he seems to suggest here that the Egyptians were the first to identify the various constellations.

236 γραμμῆσι : γραμμαί were the lines drawn to connect stars within constellations, cf. Callim. *Coma Berenices*, *Fr.* 110, 1 Pfeiffer; Leonidas of Alexandria, *A.P.* 9, 344, 1 (γραμμάϊσιν, same *sedes*).

D.'s reference to the constellations here and to the ecliptic in 237 (see n. below) suggests that he may be alluding in these verses to the invention of astrology.

πόλον : here ‘sky’, as at Eurip., *Ion* 1154 etc. Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 40c, τὸν διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμένον (of the axis of the universe); Aratus, *Phaen.* 24, μιν πειραίνουσι δύω πόλοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν (of the north and south poles).

διεμετρήσαντο : cf. Callim., *Hymn* 2, 55:

Φοίβω δ’ ἐσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο

Williams notes *ad loc.* that the verb was employed as the technical term for surveying land. Cf. Hdt. 1, 66 for the story that when the Spartans were defeated by the Tegeans they were forced to map out with a line (σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι) lands for Tegean cultivation which they had planned similarly to measure out (σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι) for themselves. D. is, therefore, perhaps alluding to the idea that geometry also began in Egypt (cf. Hdt. 2, 6; Strabo 17, 1, 3, etc.)

237 θυμῷ φρασσάμενοι : cf. Homer, *Il.* 16, 646 (φράζετο θυμῷ); *Od.* 17, 595 (φράζεο θυμῷ); 24, 391 (φράσσαντό τε θυμῷ).

λοξόν : this was the technical term used to describe the course of the sun, the ecliptic being commonly referred to as ὁ λοξὸς κύκλος (e.g., Aristotle, *Met.* 1071^a16; Ptolemy, *Almagest* 1, 8). Some, as a result, explained Apollo's title of Λοξίας as a reference to the sun's path (e.g., Cleanthes 1, 123), although it was also said to refer to the oblique language of the god's oracles (see Cornutus, *de Natura Deorum* 32).

238-41 The assonance and alliteration in the triple repetition of οὐ, in ὀλίζονος . . . ὀλίγη, in ἀλλά τις ἄλλων, in εὐβοτος εὐλείμων,

and in ἀγλαὰ πάντα help to emphasise the wealth and abundance described.

238 αὐδήσαιμι : the statement echoes Nicander, *Alex.* 5,
αὐδήσαιμ' ἅ τε φῶτας ἐνιχριμφθέντα δαμάζει
and *Ther.* 770:

σκορπίον αὐδήσω καὶ ἀεικέα τοῖο γενέθλην.

For the rhythm cf. also Ap. Rhod. 4, 250 (ἄζομαι αὐδῆσαι).

πεῖρατα γαίης : the clausula is Homeric (*Il.* 14, 200 etc.).

239-40 οὐ μὲν . . . / οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' : here typically οὐ μὲν carries an emphatic denial and this denial is amplified further in οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ, the second μὲν supplementing the first (Denniston, pp. 362-3 and 384). For οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ as connective cf. Homer, *Il.* 10, 299 (same *sedes*); Ap. Rhod. 4, 673 (same *sedes*).

239 ὀλίζονος : the comparative form is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 18, 519). See also Callim., *Hymn* 1, 72; *Fr.* 805, 1; Nicander, *Ther.* 123; 212; 372; Lycophron, *Alex.* 627.

ἔμμορε τιμῆς : the clausula is Homeric and recalls in particular the division of the world between Zeus, Poseidon and Hades, as described at Homer, *Il.* 15, 189ff. etc. For the clausula as applied to other allotments of τιμαί among gods and also men cf. Homer, *Il.* 1, 278; *Od.* 5, 335; 11, 338; Hesiod, *Theog.* 422ff.; *Hom. Hymn* 5, 37ff. The application of the phrase to an area of land, however, is unusual.

240 τις ἄλλων : the construction is unattested outside D. and is somewhat awkward. For the use of a positive adjective + ἄλλων see Aratus, *Phaen.* 250, περιμήκετος ἄλλων. Kidd *ad loc.* suggests that

Aratus was probably influenced by the Homeric use of the superlative + ἄλλων, for which see below on 353.

241 εὖβοτος εὐλείμων : each of these adjectives is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Od.* 15, 406 and 4, 607 respectively). The juxtaposition of two adjectives with the prefix εὐ- particularly recalls *Od.* 15, 406 (εὖβοτος εὐμηλος), on which it is perhaps a punning variation. Cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 3, 1086 (ἐύρρηνός τε καὶ εὖβοτος).

ἀγλαὰ πάντα : D. probably had in mind the Homeric clausula ἀγλαὰ δῶρα (esp. Homer, *Il.* 4, 97 ἀγλαὰ δῶρα φέροιο), but cf. *A. P.* 7, 690, 2 (σῆς ψυχῆς ἀγλαὰ πάντα μένει).

242-6 D. draws Egypt as a deep triangle with the mediterranean coast forming its base and Syene at its tip. Until the mention of Syene the description might be one of the Nile Delta, which according to Hdt. was considered by the Ionians to define all Egypt (2, 15-17). Pliny too takes Egypt to be circumscribed by the Delta (5, 9). D. himself, by postponing the name of Syene, is perhaps alluding to this definition of the land before proceeding to show how his own definition differs. He follows Diod. Sic., Hdt., Strabo and others in viewing Egypt as extending as far as Syene, which, situated at the first cataract, formed a logical frontier (see above on 220ff.). Yet none of these other authors describes Egypt as triangular. Rather Diod. Sic. describes the land as having four sides (1, 30-1) and Strabo likens it to an unwound girdle-band (17, 1, 4). Hdt. describes Egypt as broadening towards the north and the south from a narrow strip which runs between the vertex of the Delta and Thebes (2, 8).

242 τρισσῆσιν ἐπὶ πλευρῆσι βέβηκεν : cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 327:

φαίνεται ἀμφοτέροισι Κύων ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βεβηκώς.

See Kidd on Aratus, *Phaen.* 85 (Σκορπίον, ὀφθαλμῶ τε καὶ ἐν θώρηκι βεβηκώς) for the suggestion that the words might echo Archilochus 114, 4: ἀσφαλέως βεβηκώς ποσσί. Cf. also Callim., *Hymn* 1, 85, εὐρὺ βέβηκεν.

243 D. perhaps had in mind here Ap. Rhod.'s description of the island of Peuce at 4, 310-11:

τριγλώχιν, εὖρος μὲν ἐς αἰγιαλοὺς ἀνέχουσα,
στεινὸν δ' αὖτ' ἀγκῶνα ποτὶ ῥόον·

For Peuce see below on 298 and 301.

ἐπ' ἡῶ : cf. Ap. Rhod. 1, 1151 (= 4, 1622 and 1690), ἐς ἡῶ/; Theoc., *Id.* 18, 14, ἐς ἄῶ/ (always of time).

Eustathius explains D.'s words as referring not to the place of the sun-rise, but to the goddess Eos. She was said to have been the mother of Memnon, the mythical Ethiopian king (Hesiod, *Theogony* 984f. etc.), who was associated with Egyptian Thebes among other places (see on 250 below). Eustathius suggests that Eos was herself thus connected with Thebes and southern Egypt, so that here she symbolizes the south rather than the east. The fact that the goddess is mentioned in the description of Thebes (in the same *sedes*) a few lines later (250) lends some support to such an explanation. However, it is possible that D. might have had another reason for referring to the south as the dawn. Strabo had argued that the Homeric phrase πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε (*Od.* 9, 26; *Il.* 12, 239 etc.) similarly referred to the south (10, 2, 12). Whether or not we accept Strabo's argument it seems likely that D. had some such interpretation of the Homeric phrase in mind, given the allusions elsewhere in the *Periegesis* to Homeric criticism. Similarly where D. uses the words πρὸς ἡῶ (332,

421, 437) they provide better sense if taken to refer to the south than if taken to denote the east. On the other hand, where D. uses the adjective ἡώος (37, 588, 901, 1163), he clearly means east and not south.

244 ἐλκόμενον : cf. esp. Homer, *Il.* 5, 665 and 22, 464 for the middle participle in this *sedes*. See above on 199 for the use of the verb in D. and Aratus.

βαθυκρήμνοιο : the epithet appears several times in the *Periegesis* (see 618, νῆσοι; 849, Τάυρος; and 880, Κασίος), but is otherwise rare in the extant literature, occurring only in Pindar (*I.* 4, 56; *N.* 9, 40). Generally, however, adjectives ending in -κρημνός are not uncommon (see, e.g., ἀποκρήμνος, Hdt. 7, 176 etc.; πολύκρημνός, Bacchylides 1, 11 and Callim., *Fr.* 279; ὑψίκρημνος, Aeschylus, *P. V.* 421 and *Hom. Epigr.* 6, 5, etc.).

Συήνης : see above on 220.

245 οὔρεσιν : Syene was celebrated for the red marble quarried there (Pliny, *N. H.* 36, 63; Theophrastus, *de Lap.* 6, 34).

περισκεπέεσιν ἐρυμνόν : this phrase echoes Callim.'s description of the islands of Corsica, Euboea, Sardinia and Cyprus at *Hymn* 4, 23 (κεῖναι μὲν πύργοισι περισκεπέεσιν ἐρυμναί).

246 κατέρχεται ὕδατα Νείλου : D. here recalls his own words in referring to the cataracts on the border of Egypt and Ethiopia at 220-1.

247-53 In describing Egypt's numerous inhabitants D. alludes to the three main districts, *epistrategiai*, into which the land was divided by the Romans at the time: Upper Egypt, also known as the Thebaid;

Middle Egypt, the Heptanomia and Arsinoite district; and Lower Egypt or the Delta.

247 καὶ τὴν μέν : also at 1071 and 1135. See similarly 866 (καὶ τῷ μέν). καὶ μέν is used here like progressive καὶ μὴν (Denniston, p. 390), a pairing which is occasionally split (Denniston, p. 358).

ἡμέν . . . / . . θ' . . / ἡδ' . . . : it is not unusual to find ἡμέν answered by τε, suggesting the weakest of contrasts, just as it is not uncommon for ἡδέ to follow τε (Denniston, p. 287), yet the combination of all three is unusual. Use of the particle ἡμέν is restricted to Epic.

248-9 Θήβην . . . / Θήβην : D. again shows his fondness for epanalepsis (see above on 195-7). Abundant use of the device is rare in earlier Greek literature but becomes more popular among Latin poets from the 1st century B. C. onwards.⁸⁴

The prominence D. gives Thebes here is anachronistic. By his time Thebes had become a group of villages (Strabo 17, 1, 46), also known by the name of Diospolis, but typically the poet ignores the passage of time, treating Thebes as a city of great grandeur.

248 ναιετάουσιν : see above on 232.

249 ὠγυγίην, ἑκατόμπυλον : the asyndeton is typical of hymns and encomia. ὠγυγίην is an epithet attached to the Egyptian Thebes by Aeschylus at *Pers.* 37-8, yet it clearly did not serve to distinguish this city from Boeotian Thebes as it is also used of the Greek city at *O.C.* 1769-70. On the other hand, while ἑπτάπυλος is the standard

⁸⁴See J. Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 130ff.

epithet of Boeotian Thebes (e.g., *Il.* 4, 406; *Od.* 11, 236),
ἐκατόμπυλος is the Homeric epithet attached to the Egyptian city in
the speech of Achilles at *Il.* 9, 383. There the city is introduced as an
example of the great wealth Achilles is prepared to refuse in another
sequence of relative clauses introduced by ὅσος, and D. perhaps also
had in mind the large number of men said by Achilles to pass through
the ‘hundred gates’ of Thebes (αἶ θ’ ἐκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ’
ἄν’ ἐκάστας / ἄνδρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν).

250 Μέμνων : near Thebes stood the so-called Memnonium before
which sat the huge statue identified by the Greeks with Memnon, son
of Eos (see above on 243). Inscriptions on the Colossus reveal that it
in fact represented Amenophis III, sometimes written Phamenoph,
Phamenoth, Phamenos or Amenoth. The identification of the figure
with Memnon has been thought to be due to the fact that the name of
the Greek hero was close to the Egyptian word for ‘great monument’,
mennu (J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece* II (London,
1898), pp. 530-1).⁸⁵

D.’s use of the word γεγωνώς suggests that Memnon’s
greeting to his mother is more than a pretty poetic figure. Indeed
according to Strabo the Colossus was damaged by an earthquake, so
that only the bottom half remained in place (Pausanias says that it was
cut in half by Cambyses), and from this there emanated a sound, like
that of a blow, at sunrise (17, 1, 46). The sound may have been caused
by the expansion of the air within the cracks of the broken statue when
heated by the sun at dawn. This explanation is supported by the fact
that the sound was no longer reported in inscriptions after A.D. 196

⁸⁵Pausanias, describing his visit to the site, relates that the figure was also identified with another
king, Sesostris (1, 42, 3), whom Hdt. says was widely confused with Memnon (Hdt. 2, 106. See
Lloyd *ad loc.*, *op. cit.* [above n. 76], for a possible explanation for this confusion).

when repairs to the statue are said to have been undertaken by Septimius Severus (*H. A. Severus* 17). It is easy to see how this sound could have been taken to be a greeting from Memnon to his mother Eos.

The Colossus perhaps receives special attention here as a result of Hadrian's visit to the site in A.D. 130. See A. and E. Bernand, *Les Inscriptions Grecques et Latines du Colosse de Memnon* (Paris, 1960), pp. 80ff. for the inscriptions commemorating this visit. Knaack argued that D.'s omission of any specific reference to Hadrian here provides an indication that the poem was in fact written before A.D. 130.⁸⁶ However such an omission, as Greaves notes,⁸⁷ corresponds with the general absence of contemporary figures within the *Periegesis*.

ἀντέλλουσιν : the verb is regularly used by Aratus for the rising of the stars. See esp. Aratus, *Phaen.* 597 for the feminine participle in this *sedes* (Παρθένος ἀντέλλουσα).

251 ἑπτάπολιν : the adjective, not attested elsewhere, is used here as a hellenizing alternative to ἑπτανομία (see above on 247-53); cf. esp. Attica's Τετράπολις (Thuc. 2, 30, 2; Strabo 8, 6, 15 etc.) and the Doric Πεντάπολις (Hdt. 1, 144 etc.).

μεσάτην : see above on 204.

252-3 ἐπ' ἡϊόνεσσι θαλάσσης . . . / . . . ναίουσιν : cf. Or. Syb. *ap.* Pausanias 10, 15, 3: οἱ ναίουσι παρ' ἡϊόνεσσι θαλάσσης.

⁸⁶RE V² (1905) col. 917.

⁸⁷Greaves, *op. cit.* (above n. 25), p. 16.

252 νοτερῆσιν : for the association with sea-spray cf. Callim., *Ep.* 5, 10 Pfeiffer νοτερῆς . . . ἄλκυόνος and Gow and Page *ad loc.* (= *H. E.* 1118)

253 παραλίην : for the long initial syllable see esp. Ap. Rhod. 4, 1560, παρραλίην (*same sedes*), and Livrea *ad loc.* See also Callim. *Hymn* 3, 238 (παρραλίη Ἐφέσῳ).

Σερβωνίδα λίμνην : this was evidently the reading of both Avienus (372: *Serbonidis paludis*) and Priscian (241: *lacus Serbonidis undae*). Cf. Ap. Rhod. 2, 1215 (Σερβωνίδος ὕδασι λίμνης). The variant ἄλμης, attested by the scholia, seems to have been a gloss, and may also have prompted the variant αἶης.

Serbonis stretched along the Arabian coast at the north-eastern tip of the Nile Delta and was commonly held to mark the boundary between Egypt and Arabia (Hdt. 3, 5; Strabo 16, 2, 32 etc.). It was renowned for its perilous waters beneath which the giant Typhon was said to have been submerged (Hdt. *loc. cit.*; Ap. Rhod. *loc. cit.*; Diod. Sic. 1. 30).

254 Μακηδόνιον πτολίεθρον : D. alludes to Alexandria through reference to the Macedonian origins of the city's founder, Alexander the Great, and his successors, the Ptolemies.

The poetic form for Μακεδών is also used by Callim. at *Hymn* 4, 167 in reference to Ptolemy Philadelphus.

255 Σινωπίταο Διὸς : D. is referring to the Serapeum at Alexandria. Eustathius *ad loc.* suggests that the god Sarapis' title as Σινωπίτης Ζεὺς might have originated from the name of a hill in Memphis — the Pharaonic capital which was the site of an earlier

Serapeum — the Σινώπιον. He also records, however, the apparently well-established tradition that one of the Ptolemies had brought to Egypt a statue of the god Sarapis from the Pontic town of Sinope and installed it in the Alexandrian Serapeum (Plutarch, *Moralia* 361f-362e; Tacitus, *Histories* 4, 83-4. On Sinope itself cf. D. 773ff.). There were those who identified this Ptolemy as Ptolemy I Soter (Plutarch, *loc. cit.*; Tacitus, *loc. cit.*), others who identified him as Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 4, 48, 1-3) and others still who identified him as Ptolemy III Euergetes (Tacitus, *loc. cit.*).⁸⁸

Sarapis was regarded as patron of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the city of Alexandria, and was identified not only with Zeus but also with Aesculapius, Dionysus, Pluto and Osiris (Plutarch, *loc. cit.*; Tacitus, *loc. cit.*). The popularity of the cult of Sarapis, although apparently thriving in the third century B.C., seems to have suffered a considerable decline in the first century B.C.,⁸⁹ so that Strabo tells of the neglect of the Serapeum in his day (17, 1, 10). It is not clear, then, whether D. is referring, in a not uncharacteristically anachronistic manner, to the original temple of Sarapis or to the later rebuilding of the Serapeum.

Numismatic evidence suggests that the new temple and precinct of Sarapis date from the time of either Trajan or Hadrian.⁹⁰ Whatever the precise date of its construction, it is clear that Hadrian connected himself with the new Serapeum. One type of coin dating from his reign shows the Serapeum apparently enclosing a shrine to the

⁸⁸Modern scholars differ. For the Serapeum as founded by Ptolemy III Euergetes see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford, 1972), pp. 268-71. Arguments for assigning its foundation to an earlier date are set out in J. E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 7ff.

⁸⁹See P.M. Fraser, *op. cit.* (above n. 88), pp. 272-5.

⁹⁰See *B. M. C. Alexandria* nn. 534-9 for coins depicting the Serapeum dating from Trajan's reign and nn. 872-6 for similar Serapeum-types dating from the reign of Hadrian. See also Fraser, *op. cit.* (above n. 88), pp. 272-5.

emperor.⁹¹ The figures of Hadrian and Sarapis are depicted standing facing one another inside the Serapeum, the god with his right hand raised towards the emperor, who rests his right hand on what seems to be a similar building situated between the two. Inside this appears the wording ADR/IA/NON. This scene surely represents, as Beaujeu has argued,⁹² Sarapis welcoming the construction of a Hadrianum within his own precinct.

Papyri suggest that the new Serapeum became Alexandria's greatest tourist attraction,⁹³ and it is described by Amm. Marcellinus as the most magnificent monument in the world after Rome's Capitol (22, 16, 12).

The earliest surviving descriptions of the Roman Serapeum are those of Aphthonius, in his *Progymnasmata*,⁹⁴ and Rufinus, at *H.E.* XI, 23,⁹⁵ both dating from the late fourth or early fifth century. These descriptions are compared with what archaeological evidence there exists by A. Rowe in *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Sarapis in Alexandria*.⁹⁶

μεγάλοιο μέλαθρον : cf. Homer, *Od.* 22, 239: μέγάραιο μέλαθρον (*same sedes*).

256 χρυσῶ τιμήντι : this noun-adjective pairing appears 3x in the Homeric poems (*Il.* 18, 475; *Od.* 8, 393 and 11, 327).

⁹¹B. M. C. *Alexandria* no. 876.

⁹²See J. Beaujeu, *La Religion Romaine à l'Apogée de l' Empire I. La Politique Religieuse des Antonins* (Paris, 1955), pp. 230-1.

⁹³J. L. Rowlandson and A. Harker, 'Roman Alexandria: a papyrological perspective', in A. Hirst and M. S. Silk (edd.), *Alexandria: real and imagined* (forthcoming).

⁹⁴L. Spengel (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci* II (Leipzig, 1854), pp. 47ff.

⁹⁵T. Mommsen and E. Schwartz (edd.), *Eusebius: H. E.* II (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 1026ff.

⁹⁶Supplement aux *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*, cahier 2 (Cairo, 1946).

256-7 κεκασμένον . . . / . . . ἴδοιο : cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 197ff.:

αὐτοῦ γὰρ κάκεῖνο κυλίνδεται αἶνόν ἄγαλμα

Ἀνδρομέδης ὑπὸ μητρὶ κεκασμένον. οὐ σε μάλ' οἶω

νύκτα περισκέψασθαι, ἴν' αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἴδῃαι.

256-8 οὐκ . . . / . . . πόλιν : as Tsavari suggests, these verses contain echoes of Callim., *Hymn* 2, 93ff.:

οὐ κείνου χορὸν εἶδε θεώτερον ἄλλον Ἀπόλλων,

οὐδὲ πόλει τόσ' ἔνειμεν ὀφέλισμα, τόσσα Κυρήνη

and also *Hymn* 3, 248ff.:

κεῖνο δέ τοι μετέπειτα περὶ βρέτας εὐρὺ θέμειλον

δωμήθη, τοῦ δ' οὔτε θεώτερον ὄψεται ἤως

οὐδ' ἀφνειότερον· ρέα κεν Πυθῶνα παρέλθοι.

In the first of these passages Callim. refers to his home, Cyrene, and the festival of the Carneia held there in honour of Apollo, Cyrene's patron. By alluding to these verses D., then, seems to be drawing parallels not simply between Cyrene and Alexandria, but between the role of Apollo in relation to Cyrene and that of Sarapis in relation to Alexandria, and conceivably also between the relationship of Callim. with Cyrene and his own relationship with Alexandria. He appears to point to the fact that Sarapis was the patron god of Alexandria and at the same time indicate that the city was his home.

In the second passage Callim. describes the Artemisium at Ephesus. In evoking this passage D. is perhaps claiming that the Serapeum surpassed in grandeur even the famed Artemisium,⁹⁷ just as

⁹⁷The temple of Artemis at Ephesus is named among the original 'Seven Wonders of the World', as listed in the second century B. C. *Laterculi Alexandrini* (H. Diels, *Laterculi Alexandrini aus einem Papyrus ptolemäischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 8-9). The epigrammatist Antipater of Sidon, writing in the same period, claimed that of the 'Seven Wonders' the Artemisium was the greatest (*A. P.* 9, 58), and Pliny expresses similar admiration two centuries later (*N. H.* 36, 21).

Alexandria surpassed Ephesus in wealth.⁹⁸ The full significance of such a claim would have been appreciated by the emperor who, it seems, visited Ephesus at least twice during his reign, in A.D. 123 and 129, leaving behind him evidence of his esteem for the city.⁹⁹

It is worth noting that, according to Strabo (14, 1, 23), the Artemisium at Ephesus was restored and enlarged by the same architect who designed Alexandria, Cheiocrates (or Deinocrates, cf. Vitruvius 2, pref., 1).

257 θεώτερον : this comparative form is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Od.* 13, 111), on which see P. Chantraine, *op. cit.* (above on 235), pp. 257-8.

ἴδοιο : the v. l. ἴδηαι adopted by Müller is supported also by Aratus, *Phaen.* 199 (see above on 256-7).

258 ἦχι τε μακραί : see above on 176.

259 Cf. Alciphron 4, 19, 6 where the lighthouse of Alexandria is similarly referred to as Φάριαι σκοπιαί.

The lighthouse was one of the most famous sights in Egypt,¹⁰⁰ and was listed by Pliny among the Seven Wonders of the World (*N. H.* 36, 83). However, the scholiast, followed by Eustathius, suggests that D. might be referring here to the Antipharos in

⁹⁸Ephesus was by this time the richest city in the province of Asia and had become in effect its administrative and economic centre (see D. Knibbe, 'Ephesos Historisch', *ANRW* II 7. 2 (1980), pp. 748-810). Alexandria, however, was not only the richest city in her province but probably the richest in the Empire. See Fraser, *op. cit.* (above n. 88), p. 800 on the increased wealth of the city under Roman rule. For a contemporary account of the city's wealth in Imperial times see esp. Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 32, 36.

⁹⁹For a summary of the evidence see B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian A. D. 76-138* (London, 1923), pp. 290-4.

¹⁰⁰Florus states that Julius Caesar celebrated his conquest of Egypt with a procession in which Egypt was represented by the Pharos, the Nile, and Arsinoe (2, 13, 88)

Taphosiris (Ταφόσιρις), which, he claims, was also known as the tomb of Eidothea (τάφος τῆς Εἰδοθέας).

The Antipharos is presumably to be identified as the ‘Tower of the Arabs’, situated near Tap(h)osiris Magna, which lies some distance from Alexandria, at the western tip of Lake Mareotis, and which, according to Strabo (17, 1, 14), was the site of a large public festival, probably held to commemorate the death of Osiris.¹⁰¹ This tower resembles representations of the Pharos found on imperial coins of Alexandria from Domitian's reign onwards,¹⁰² and the archaeological evidence suggests that it was originally built as a funerary monument, modelled on the celebrated lighthouse.¹⁰³

The renown of the lighthouse seems to weigh against the identification of D.’s σκοπιαί with the Antipharos.

φαίνονται σκοπιαί : cf. 361, φαίνονται προχοαί (same *sedes*). D. perhaps had in mind Aratus 867, φαίνονται νεφέλαι; and 990, φαίνονται καθαραί (same *sedes*).¹⁰⁴

Παλληνίδος Εἰδοθεείης : the island of Pharos was said to have been the home of the sea-god Proteus and his daughter Eidothea (Homer, *Od.* 4, 354ff.). Proteus was said to have married Torone of

¹⁰¹ See Fraser, *op. cit.* (above n. 88), pp. 144f. On the site of Taposiris Magna and its history see A. de Cosson, *Mareotis* (London, 1935), pp. 109ff.

¹⁰² See, e.g., *B.M.C. Alexandria* 343, 450, 547, 755, 884, 1118, 1205, 1241, 1338, 1439. For a full discussion of representations of the Pharos from Roman through to Arab times see H. Thiersch, *Pharos, Antike Islam und Occident* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1909), esp. pp. 7-52.

¹⁰³ See A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain 3: 1940-50* (Alexandria, 1952), pp. 133-9. Cf. de Cosson, *op. cit.* (above n. 101), pp. 111ff., who argues that it was a watch-and-signal tower, and Thiersch, *op. cit.* (above n. 102), pp. 210-21, who suggests that it is another lighthouse.

Strabo states that the light house itself was several stories high (17, 1, 6). This seems to be confirmed by the numismatic evidence which indicates that there were three stories, each narrower than the one below. The tower appears square on some coins but circular on others, which may suggest that it was in fact polygonal. The coins also show a statue on the summit of the light-house, which represented Zeus Soter, so Fraser argues, *op. cit.* (above n. 88), pp. 18-19. Indeed the verses by Posidippus to which Fraser refers seem to leave little room for doubt: καί κεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ δράμοι Τάυρου κέρας οὐδ’ ἄν ἀμάρτοι / σωτῆρος, Πρωτεῦ, Ζην[ὸς] [ὁ] τηῖδε πλέων (*H.E.* 3108-9).

¹⁰⁴ φαίνονται is the reading adopted by Maass in each case. Kidd, however, adopts the v. l. φαίνωνται.

Pallene in Chalcidice (Lycophron 115ff.).¹⁰⁵ Callim. thus refers to the god as Παλληνέα μάντιν (*S. H.* 254,5), and D. here describes Eidothea similarly as Pallenian.

This is the only surviving occurrence of the pentasyllabic form Εἰδοθεΐη, lengthened from Εἰδοθέη, as the name appears in Homer (*loc. cit.*).

260-3 Returning to the coastal region immediately to the east of the Nile Delta, around Lake Serbonis (see above on 253), D. devotes these lines to a description of the town of Pelusium and its people.

260 Κασιώτιδα πέτρην : Strabo describes Mount Casius as a sandy promontory on the coast east of Pelusium (16, 2, 33). It was famous as the site close to which Pompey the Great was murdered and beside which stood his tomb (Dio 42, 5, 3-5; Plutarch, *Pompey* 76-80). Hadrian is said to have visited and rebuilt this tomb on his way to Egypt in A.D. 130, (Appian, *B.C.* 2, 86; Dio 69, 11, 1; *H. A.*, *Hadrian* 14).

261 Πηλῆος πτολίεθρον : with these words D. suggests that the name 'Pelusium' was to be derived from 'Peleus', the father of Achilles. This derivation is suggested also by Ammianus Marcellinus (22, 16, 3), who states that Peleus founded Pelusium after he had been ordered by the gods to purify himself in Lake Serbonis, so that the Furies should no longer hound him for the murder of his half-brother Phocus.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵See *R.E.* 23. 1, coll. 943ff. for a summary of the various accounts of Proteus, his native land, his marriage and offspring.

¹⁰⁶ This account of Peleus' punishment and purification is found in no other extant source. In all other accounts Peleus' crime is punished by exile and he flees to Phthia where he is purified by Eurytion, son of Actor, according to some, or Actor himself, according to others. See *R. E.* 23. 1, coll. 271-308.

The connection between Peleus and Pelusium is explained otherwise by Eustathius. He claims that the site was thought to have been settled by Phthiotian soldiers under Peleus' command. He goes on to say that the name 'Pelusium' was also derived from πηλός, because of the marshy region in which the town was situated. This is the derivation given by Strabo (17, 1, 21).

Pelusium was situated at the easternmost mouth of the Nile, which was hence known as the Pelusiac mouth. It appears to have been widely seen as constituting the frontier between Egypt and Arabia in the north (see Mela 1, 9-10; Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 12; Strabo 17, 1, 21), although there were some who placed this frontier further to the east (see above on 253 and Pliny, *N. H.* 5, 14; Ptolemy 4, 5, 6).

Πηληϊος : for this form see Ap. Rhod. 4, 853 and Livrea *ad loc.* who notes that it is not Homeric.

262 ἔξοχα ναυτιλίας δεδαημένοι : cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 1278:

ὅσσοι ἔσαν νηῶν δεδαημένοι. ἐν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν

Livrea notes *ad loc.* that δεδαημένοι is not found in Homer, but that the construction of this participle with the genitive is modelled on *Il.* 21, 487 (πολέμοιο δαήμεναι).

ναυτιλίας : the Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Od.* 8, 253) occurs 19x in Ap. Rhod. See also Callim., *Aetia*, Fr. 178, 33 Pfeiffer.

οὐ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι : cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 54, οὐ μὲν ἐκείνη (same *sedes*).

262-8 In these lines D. neatly rounds off the descriptions of both Egypt and Libya as a whole by referring back to the theme with which he began the section on Libya, and which he touched upon before embarking upon his account of Egypt, that is the definition of Libya.

262-4 According to D. the Pelusians are not numbered among the Libyans because the Nile forms the border between the continents of Libya and Asia, and as Pelusium lies to the east of the river, it must therefore be situated in Asia (see above on 230f.). Here as elsewhere it is clear that D. saw Egypt as divided between the two continents (cf. 232, 246 and 252-3. See also above on 174-268).

263 D. seems to have had in mind here Ap. Rhod. 1, 647f. :

ἄλλοθ' ὑποχθονίοις ἐναρίθμιος, ἄλλοτ' ἐς αὐγὰς
ἡελίου ζωοῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσιν.

ἐν . . . ἀρίθμιοι : the *tnesis* has an archaizing effect. Elsewhere ἐναρίθμιος appears as one word, but cf. Rhianus 1, 16 for μεταρίθμιος in *tnesis*: μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρίθμιος.

264 ἑπταπόρου : typically of the planets, especially the Pleiades (see *Hom. h.* 8, 7; Eurip. *Iph.A.* 7, *Or.* 1005, *Rhes.* 529; *A. P.* 7, 748, 4; Aratus, *Phaen.* 257), but used as an epithet of the Nile by Moschus at *Europa* 51, and later by Nonnus at *Dionysiaca* 11, 51.

ἔλλαχον ἄστυ : D.'s language recalls the division of the world between Zeus, Poseidon and Hades as described at *Hom. Hymn* 2, 86f. etc. Cf. 239 (ἔμμορε τιμῆς).

265-8 There are various similarities between the summary description of Libya which D. gives in these lines and his outline of Egypt in 247-53. He divides Libya into three parts, as he did Egypt, through reference to the inhabitants of each. In both descriptions he works his way up from the southern borders through the interior and ends on the

Mediterranean coast. Furthermore he finishes his descriptions of both Egypt and Libya with references to coastal lakes.

Each of these lakes appears in the *Argonautica*. Serbonis is not encountered by the Argonauts but is mentioned in the speech of Argus (see above on 253). The arrival of the Argonauts at Lake Tritonis, on the other hand, marks the end of their journey through Libya (Ap. Rhod. 4, 1380ff.), an episode which D. seems to have wished to recall here.

D. 's division of Libya into three parts provides another indication that he used Strabo as a source for his description of the continent (cf. above on 174-268 and 181-3, where it is the same passage of Strabo which seems to have influenced D.). Strabo explicitly states that Libya was tripartite in nature, and he divides the continent into the same three broad regions as does D.: the coastline of the Mediterranean, the interior, and the coastal regions along the Ocean. These divisions, he explains, were natural ones caused by the differences in the levels of the fertility of the soil (2, 5, 33).

266-7 οἱ μὲν . . . , τοὶ δ' . . . , οἱ δ' . . . : see below on 324-6.

267 The verse echoes Ap. Rhod. 4, 1391:

τῆλε μάλ' ἀσπασίως Τριτωνίδος ὕδασι λίμνης

εὐρείης : Tsavari is mistaken to suggest that this reading is attested by Avienus (392: *Tritonidis alta paludis*). She rightly points out, however, that the v. l. ἱμερτῆς is attested by Priscian (253: *gratas circum ripas Tritonidis undae*). In light also of εὐρέα in the following verse it is tempting to choose ἱμερτῆς over εὐρείης here. On the Homeric *hapax legomenon* ἱμερτός (*Il.* 2, 751) see below on 354 (and see also 369, 537 and 845).

ὔδατι : given the parallels between 267 and 163 (Μαιώτιδος ὔδατα λίμνης), and the fact that D. elsewhere uses ὔδασι for ὔδατι the v. l. ὔδατα, adopted by Müller, seems preferable.

There seems to have been little agreement in antiquity as to the exact location of Lake Tritonis, although it was commonly thought to have been situated near the Mediterranean coast. Hdt. places it in the region of the Syrtis Minor (4, 178), as do pseudo-Scylax (110) and Mela (1, 7). Diod. Sic., however, situates the lake further to the west, near Mt. Atlas (3, 53, 4), while Strabo puts it in the Cyrenaica, just to the east of the Syrtis Major (17, 3, 20). Callim. describes the lake as Asbystian in *Fr.* 37, which indicates that he too believed it to be located somewhere in the region of the Syrtis Major (see above on 211). Similarly Ap. Rhod. mentions Nasamon (4, 1495) and the Cyrenaean king, Eurypylus, (4, 1561) in connection with Tritonis, which might suggest that the lake, in his view, belonged to the Cyrenaica, and yet he also seems to place it close to Mt. Atlas (4, 1398). Nevertheless, the route followed by the Argonauts on leaving the lake, as it is described at 4, 1573ff. , appears to support the location of the Apollonian Tritonis near the Syrtis Major.¹⁰⁷

Ap. Rhod. clearly saw Tritonis as connected in some way to the Mediterranean, and Hdt. also indicates that the waters of the lake met with those of the sea (4, 179). According to Pausanias the River Triton flowed through the lake into the sea (9, 33, 7). All of the ancient geographers named above as sources for Lake Tritonis describe it as filled by the River Triton, except for Strabo.¹⁰⁸ D., like Strabo, makes no mention of a Libyan River Triton. For discussion of the various

¹⁰⁷See E. Delage, *op. cit.* (above n. 65), pp. 261-70.

¹⁰⁸The river is mentioned in another context by Ap. Rhod., who apparently confuses it with the Nile (4, 267ff.).

locations proposed for Lake Tritonis see R. Neumann, *Nordafrika nach Herodot* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 28-59 and *R. E.* 7. A. i, coll. 311ff.

268 μέση Λιβύης : D. must here be referring to a point on the northern coast, midway between the boundaries to the east and west of Libya, rather than in the heart of the continent. Not only do all other extant sources situate the lake on the mediterranean coast but D. 's division of Libya in his description of the continent in the preceding lines, and the parallels between this description and that of Egypt at 247ff. (see above on 265-8) indicate that he too placed Lake Tritonis on the northernmost shores of Libya.

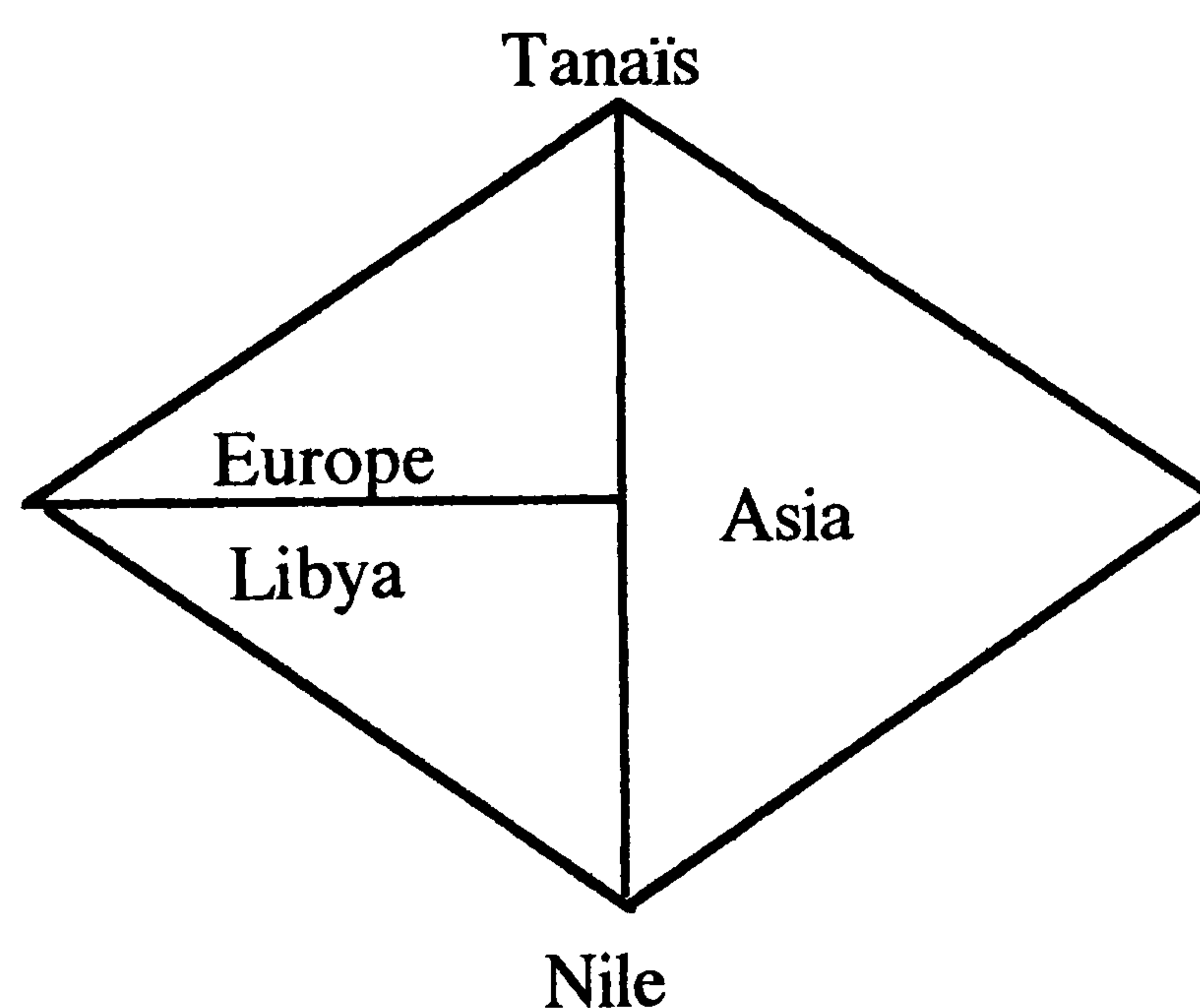
ἀμφέλκεται : see the Greek paraphrase: τὸν πλατὺν αὐτῆς κόλπον ἀμφέλκεται ἢ περισύρεται. Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 628 and 695 for ἐφέλκεται (same *sedes*) of setting stars.

πόντον : the v. l. κόλπον, adopted by Müller, seems to offer better sense and is supported by the testimony of the paraphrase (see above). Both clausulae, ε. κόλπον and ε. πόντον, are Homeric (see *Il.* 18, 140 *et al.* and *Il.* 6, 291 *et al.* respectively).

269ff. Europe D. describes Europe as like Libya in shape and size, each of these continents having an equal border with the third, Asia (271-8). Europe's border with Asia, according to D., is formed by the Tanais river, which he situates on the same meridian as the Nile (see above on 14-18). According to others it was the river Phasis which divided Europe from Asia (Aeschylus, *Fr.* 191 Radt = Arrian, *Periplous of the Euxine Sea* 19, 2; Hdt. 4, 45), and, as D. himself remarks, there were also those who took the border to be the isthmus between the Caspian and Black (Euxine) seas (19ff.). Nevertheless the Tanais was widely regarded as the dividing-line between Europe and

Asia, and yet the precise location of this river seems to have been debated. Pliny, for example, claims that most saw it as running from east to west in a line continuous with the Mediterranean, thereby making Europe one half of the inhabited world (*N. H.* 3, 1). However, Strabo, who asserts that the river flows from the north, states that most wrongly placed the the Tanais diametrically opposite the Nile, as does D., when it was in fact to be situated further to the east (11, 2, 2).

Although there is evidence of those who, like D., situated the Tanais and the Nile on the same meridian (e.g., Mela 1, 1), the adoption of this meridian as the base for two ‘cones’ making up the inhabited world, Asia pointing to the east, and Europe and Libya together to the west, is not to be found in any other extant work (see 271ff. and 620ff.).



Hugo Berger suggested that it might be possible to trace the idea of the double-‘cone’ back to Eratosthenes: ‘Er (Eratosthenes) konnte auf Grund der größten Länge und Breite und der beiden Hauptlinien eine einfache Figur entwerfen, welche die äußersten Punkte derselben geradlinig verband, und diese berechnen. Wir finden eine solche Figur bei Strabo angedeutet und bei Dionysius erwähnt . . .’¹⁰⁹ However,

¹⁰⁹H. Berger, *op. cit.* (above n. 23), p. 432f.

Eratosthenes did not situate the Nile and the Tanais on the same meridian (Strabo 1, 4, 1-2). Furthermore he apparently dismissed arguments over which were the correct boundaries dividing the three continents, and even the tripartite division of the world itself, as arbitrary (Strabo 1, 4, 7). D.'s description, on the other hand, is based on a tripartite division of the inhabited world according to definite boundaries as well as the assumption that the boundaries of the Tanais and the Nile lie on the same meridian. Eratosthenes, therefore, could surely not have been D.'s only source for his description, if indeed he was a source at all.

The double-‘cone’ is in fact not far from the sling-shape which D. describes at the opening of the poem (5ff.), and which can be traced back to Posidonius (see Introduction, pp. 15ff.). As noted above (on 175), both D. and Strabo compare Libya to a trapezium on the one hand and a right-angled triangle on the other, and this can be explained as a result of the fact that they imagined the shape of the continent to be a compromise between these two geometric figures, a compromise which would fit well into a sling-shaped οἰκουμένη. It was common for authors of geographical texts to compare areas of land to geometric figures (see Strabo 2, 1, 23 and 30). For D. it would clearly have been simpler to describe the world using such geometric figures rather than attempting to define shapes resembling sections of a sling. It is quite possible that the double-‘cone’ is an adaptation by D. of the Posidonian sling-shape. On D. 's use of the word "cone" see below on 277.

After providing a broad outline of Europe, its shape and size in relation to Libya, D. begins his tour of the continent at its westernmost point, in Iberia. He proceeds eastward through the northern regions of Europe as far as the Euxine Sea (281-329), before returning to Iberia,

to the first of what he calls the three κρηπίδες of the continent (see below on 332), the two others being formed by Italy and Greece. Proceeding eastward again, he describes southern Europe at greater length (331-446). Iberia, however, is treated in a mere 5 lines (334-8), while Italy (339-82) and Greece (398-446) are given roughly equal weight. At 354ff., appears Rome, and it is surely no accident that D. makes mention of the city at what is the halfway point in his description of Europe as a whole.

269 σχῆμα τέτυκται : cf. Homer, *Il.* 22, 30 (κακὸν δὲ τε σῆμα τέτυκται); *Od.* 21, 231 (τόδε σῆμα τετύχθω); 23, 188 (ἐπεὶ μέγα σῆμα τέτυκται); Aratus, *Phaen.* 725 (Διδύμοις ἔπι σῆμα τετύχθω); and *Hom. Hymn* 32, 13 (βροτοῖς καὶ σῆμα τέτυκται) all or any of which might have been in D.'s mind here and might also explain the v. l. σῆμα.

270 D. here combines two established modes of introducing new information, one reminiscent of earlier didactic poetry, and the other Homeric. As a whole the line is perhaps closest to Hesiod, *Op.* 106, εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἑτέρον τοι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφώσω, but similar conditional addresses are also used to introduce new themes at *Op.* 381, 618 and 646-8; Aratus, *Phaen.* 156 and 469ff. etc. The Homeric formula οὐδέ σε κεύσω (*Od.* 3, 187; 23, 373 etc.) is the model for D.'s apodosis. Cf. Homer, *Od.* 23, 26, οὐ τί σε λωβεύεω. For οὐ τί σε . . . see also Homer, *Od.* 11, 217; 21, 322; cf. Ap. Rhod. 2, 816, ἀλλὰ μιν οὐ τι . . .

πόρον : the v. l. τύπον, adopted by Müller, is more widely attested in the MSS and supported by Priscian (259: *Si placet Europes quoque me tibi dicere formam*).

271 ὤυτος μὲν Λιβύης ῥυσμός : as Tsavari suggests, D. probably had in mind the striking description of the mutilation of Pentheus at Theoc., *Id.* 26, 23: Αὐτονόας ῥυθμός ωύτός. Gow *ad loc.* explains: ‘Ino and Autonoe are envisaged symmetrically disposed on either side of the body, each with a foot on its stomach and each pulling off an arm.’ ῥυσμός/ῥυθμός is identified with σχῆμα by Aristotle (*Metaph.* 1042 b14), and Gow (*loc. cit.*) surmises that this was an early meaning of the word.

272 τέτραπται : the v. l. ἔστραπται is more widely attested in the MSS and is adopted by Müller. For the use of this latter verb in a similar context cf. Strabo 2, 5, 28: τῶν δὲ ἸΑλπεων, ἃ ἔστιν ὄρη σφόδρα ὑψηλὰ ποιοῦντα περιφερῇ γραμμῇ, τὸ μὲν κυρτὸν ἔστραπται πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα τῶν Κελτῶν πεδία καὶ τὸ Κέμμενον ὄρος.

272-3 τοῖος . . . / οἷος . . . : D. might perhaps have had in mind here Aratus, *Phaen.* 537ff.:

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ὠκεανοῦ τόσσον παραμείβεται ὕδωρ,
ὅσσον ἀπ' Αἰγοκερῆος ἀνερχομένοιο μάλιστα
Καρκίνον εἰς ἀνιόντα κυλίνδεται, ὅσσον ἀπάντη
ἀντέλλων ἐπέχει, τόσσον γε μὲν ἀλλόθι δύνων.

Kidd remarks that the chiasmus in these verses of τόσσον . . . ὅσσον . . . ὅσσον . . . τόσσον helps to create a sense of cosmic balance.

Although he does not employ the same device, D. uses the same construction to reflect similarly the balance and symmetry of the οἰκουμένη.

273 ἐπὶ τέρμα βέβηκεν : see above on 242.

274-8 The symmetry between Europe and Libya is stressed by the repetition of ἀμφί- and ἴσον , and the repeated use of μέν and δέ in antithesis.

274 νείατον ἶχνος : cf. Homer, *Od.* 7, 127, νείατον ὄρχον, and Aratus, *Phaen.* 60, νειάτω οὐρῇ (same *sedes*).

275 εἰ δέ κε θείης : cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 422: εἰ δέ κε νηΐ (same *sedes*).

277-8 σχῆμα . . . μέσσην : cf. 242-3, σχῆμα . . . ῥῶ. D.'s words are a reminder that Europe is not only like Libya in shape, but also like Egypt.

277 κώνου : D. uses the word 'cone' to describe what otherwise appears to be a plane figure.¹¹⁰ This might be taken as evidence that D.'s description of the οἰκουμένη as a double-'cone' was based on his own interpretation of the Posidonian sling-shape (see above on 269-446), given that it seems improbable that the same confusion between 'cone' and 'triangle' would have been found in a scientific text.

278 πλατὺ δ' ἀντολίην ἔπι μέσσην : the v. l. ὑπό, attested by the scholia and Priscian (266: *sub ortu*), and adopted by Müller, is perhaps preferable.

¹¹⁰Eustathius *ad loc.* notes D.'s odd use of the term πλευραί here, which would fit a triangle better than a cone. Properly the πλευρά was the "generator" of the cone (Archimedes, περὶ σφαίρας καὶ κυλίνδρου 1, 8, 2).

279-80 For a similar concept cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 142:

ἀστέρες· οὐκ ἂν τοὺς γε ἰδῶν ἔτι τεκμήραιο.

There are several Lucretian passages similarly referring to the ease with which an understanding of particulars will come once general principles have been understood (cf. esp. *De Rerum Natura* 4, 663 and 6, 998ff.), and Lucretius and D. may have had in mind the same passage of didactic rhetoric. D.'s language however is suggestive of physical more than mental accomplishment (see on 280 below).

279 τοῦνεκα : τοῦνεκα is frequently the first word in Homer (17x in 19x). Cf. also Aratus, *Phaen.* 645 (same *sedes*).

μοι : for the interjection of the first person pronoun as a reminder of the didactic relationship between poet and addressee cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 413 (τῷ μή μοι).

280 τέρμα κιχήσεαι : literally 'you will reach the goal'. The verb κιχάνω almost always denotes physical attainment, often in sport.¹¹¹ D.'s phrase , thus, combines the notion of mental with that of physical accomplishment, identifying the grasping of a concept with the reaching of a destination.

281-7 These lines provide a summary outline of Iberia, indicating its northern and southernmost boundaries and its overall shape. D. will add a few more details to the picture he presents here at 334ff.

281-2 πυμάτης μὲν ἐπὶ πλευρῇσι : the v. l. πυμάτην μὲν ὑπὸ γλωχῖνα, more widely attested in the MSS and supported by Priscian (268: *ad cuius summum*), seems preferable in light of the fact that D.

¹¹¹ See C. J. Ruigh and N. Van Krimpen, 'L'Histoire et la Préhistoire de κιχάνω : Problèmes Morphologiques et Sémantiques', *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969), pp. 113-136.

throughout these lines is echoing his own words in describing the westernmost point of Libya at 184f., and thereby emphasising that the shape of Europe is the same as that of Libya. The use of the word γλῶχιν here, immediately following the description of the two continents as forming a triangle, would also provide an attractive play on the fact that the same term was used to mean ‘angle’ (see above on 184).

νέμονται . . . ἔθνος : on this type of *constructio ad sensum* see on 232 above.

282 ἀγχοῦ στηλάων μεγαθύμων ἔθνος : the linguistic parallels between this verse and 185 reflect the fact that for D. the geographical position of the Iberians was symmetrically opposite to that of the Maurusians.

283-4 ἦχι . . . ἔνθα : for the same pairing see the description of Tartarus at Homer, *Il.* 8, 14f.

283 τετραμμένον : the participle occurs 8x in D., always in this *sedes*. Similarly in Aratus the participle occurs 8x altogether and 7x in this *sedes*. Kidd notes that in Aratus it is always used to mean ‘facing or pointing in a certain direction’ (on Aratus, *Phaen.* 30). D., however, sometimes uses it as here to mean ‘reaching’ (299, 1034).

284 κέχυται : cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 320 and 611 (same *sedes*). Kidd remarks (on 320) that Aratus uses this as one of a variety of verbs to express the position of stars.

284-5 Βρετανοὶ / λευκά τε φῦλα . . . Γερμανῶν : D. will situate the Britons and the Germans more precisely at 567ff. and 302ff. respectively.

285 λευκά : the white skin of the Gauls is noted at Diod. Sic. 5, 28. Cf. Strabo 7, 1, 2; Tacitus, *Germ.* 4, 2-3 etc. on the fair hair of the Germans.

ἄρειμανέων : again the same word is used to describe the Gauls, this time by Strabo (4, 4, 2), who asserts that the Germans and Gauls are kinsmen and similar to one another (7, 1, 2).

286 D. gives no clear indication as to where exactly the Hercynian Forest lies, so that his own scholiast on this passage places it near the Pyrenees, while Eustathius takes it to be situated on the north coast of Germany. This is the location given it by Diod. Sic. (5, 21). However, according to the better-informed descriptions given by Caesar and Strabo, it stretched across southern Germany, beginning near the River Danube (Caesar, *B. G.* 6, 24-5; Strabo 7, 1, 5). Similarly, although there has been some debate as to whether the Hercynian Rock to which Ap. Rhod. refers at *Argonautica* 4, 640 should be located in the Black Forest or the Alps, it seems clear that the poet placed it to the south rather than to the north, and this may have influenced D.¹¹²

παραθρώσκοντες : the scholiast offers the gloss ἐπεκτεινόμενοι, but cf. the only other extant example of the use of this word, in a funerary epigram of the third century B.C. (*S.E.G.* 32, 644, 1: [Κούραν Νεοπ]τολέμοιο παραθρώισκων [ξένε, στῆθι]), where it appears to mean ‘running past’.

¹¹²For a full discussion of the proper location of Ap. Rhod.'s Hercynian Rock see E. Delage, *op. cit.* (above n. 65), pp. 230ff.

ὀρόγκους : Eustathius *ad loc.* explains this noun as deriving from and signifying οἱ τῶν ὀρῶν ὄγκοι. Such is the definition offered also by the lexicographers Hesychius and by Photius. The word is otherwise attested only at Nicander, *Alex.* 42 (ὀρόγκοις, same *sedes*).

287 The comparison of Iberia to an ox-hide is made at Strabo 2, 1, 30; 2, 5, 27; and 3, 1, 3. It has been suggested that Posidonius, who travelled extensively around Iberia, was the original source for this comparison,¹¹³ although there is no evidence of this in the surviving fragments of his work. Strabo himself does seem to have treated Posidonius as an expert on the region.¹¹⁴

287 ἐνέπουσι : also at 105, 111, 562, 788, 993. For similar ‘they say’ statements introduced by ἐνέπουσι(ν) in Epic see, e.g., Ap. Rhod. 1, 26; 1148; 2, 905; Nicander, *Ther.* 10; *Fr.* 85, 7.

288-93 From Iberia D. progresses eastwards to Celtica and the sources of the Eridanus river.

288 Πυρηνάϊον ὄρος : the Pyrenees, which were widely regarded as stretching from north to south, formed the boundary between Iberia and Celtica, see, e.g., Diod. Sic. 5, 35; Strabo 2, 5, 27 and 3, 1, 3.

289-93 These lines carry echoes of the description of the Argonauts’ arrival at the Eridanus river at Ap. Rhod. 4, 595ff. Like Ap. Rhod., D. introduces in connection with the river the myth of Phaethon, who was said to have fallen to earth there, after flying too high in the

¹¹³Jacob, *op. cit.* (above n. 1), p. 123.

¹¹⁴See Strabo 2, 4, 2 & 13, 1, 67.

chariot of his father, the Sun. Upon his death the gods were said to have transformed his grieving sisters, the Heliades, into poplars, shedding tears of amber. The myth was popular in ancient literature, as Diod. Sic. attests (5, 23),¹¹⁵ and D. may not be alluding specifically to Ap. Rhod. here, although the similarities between the two passages lie not only in their mythical content, but also to some extent in the choice of language. Cf. esp. Ap. Rhod. 4, 603-6 and 622-6:¹¹⁶

ἀμφὶ δὲ κοῦραι (603)

Ἑλιάδες ταναῆσιν ἐελμέναι αἰγείροισιν
 μύρονται κινυρὸν μέλαι γόον· ἐκ δὲ φαεινὰς
 ἡλέκτρου λιβάδας βλεφάρων προχέουσιν ἔραζε·

ὁδμῇ λευγαλή, τήν ῥ' ἄσχετον ἐξανίσκον (622)

τυφομένου Φαέθοντος ἐπιρροαὶ Ἑριδανοῖο·
 νυκτὸς δ' αὖ γόον ὀξύν ὀδυρομένων ἐσάκουον
 Ἑλιάδων λιγέως· τὰ δὲ δάκρυα μυρομένησιν
 οἶον ἐλαιηραὶ στάγες ὕδασιν ἐμφορέοντο.

See below on 316ff. for the various references in D. to amber and similar substances of ornamental value.

289 ἀγχόθι πηγάων Ἑριδανοῖο : the location of the Eridanus was a matter for debate among the ancients. Hdt. doubted its very existence (3, 115), as too did Strabo, although he noted that it was said to lie near the Po (5, 1, 9). References to the river by Aeschylus and Euripides suggest that it was actually, from an early stage, identified with the Po (Aesch., *Fr.* 71 Nauck; Eurip., *Hipp.* 735ff.),¹¹⁷ and yet

¹¹⁵On the popularity of the myth and its history see also J. Diggle *Euripides: Phaethon* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 4ff.

¹¹⁶Contrast Ovid's relation of the myth at *Met.* 2, 1ff.

¹¹⁷For discussion of the Aeschylus fragment and the passage of Euripides see on 290. Cf. also Diod. Sic. 5, 23, who claims that 'Eridanus' was an older name for the Po.

Pliny states that Aeschylus situated the Eridanus in Spain and identified it with the Rhône (Pliny, *N. H.* 37, 11). The sources of the Rhône and the Po lie relatively close to one another and Ap. Rhod. describes the Rhône as flowing into the Eridanus (4, 627ff.). Pliny again states that in Euripides and Ap. Rhod. the Po and the Rhône meet on the shores of the Adriatic (Pliny, *loc. cit.*). Thus, it is possible that Aeschylus saw the Rhône and the Po as one river extending from Spain to the Adriatic, giving it the name Eridanus, which was applied by some to the Po only. D. seems to locate the sources of the Eridanus near the Pyrenees, which might suggest that he, like Aeschylus, gave this name to the Rhône and the Po together.

καλλιρρόου : the adjective is Homeric, and in Homer usually appears as part of the formula κ. ὕδωρ (e.g., *Il.* 2, 752). D., however, might have had in mind the description of Achilles' pursuit of Hector at *Il.* 22, 147:

κρουνῶ δ' ἵκανον καλλιρρόω· ἔνθα δὲ πηγαῖ.

290 ἔρημαίην : the adjective is Hellenistic, as Kidd notes on Aratus, *Phaen.* 948 (ἔρημαίη ὀλολυγών). See *ibid.* 1003; Ap. Rhod. 2, 672 and 4, 1298 etc.

292-3 The σπονδειαῖζοντες here help to convey a sense of the grief of the mourning Heliades. On the frequency of σπονδειαῖζοντες in D. see above on 235-6.

293 ἀμέλγονται : D. perhaps here had in mind the true origins of amber, which, as Pliny remarks, are manifest in the Latin word for amber, *succinum*, stemming from *sucus* (see Pliny, *N. H.* 37, 11). Pliny reveals that it was known early on that amber was a fossil resin,

derived from the exudation of certain trees, and it may be this liquid exudation to which D. alludes here. The term ‘milking’ would presumably apply to the process of cutting strips off the bark and waiting for the juice to flow.

However, it might be preferable to read ἀμέργονται, a variant known to Eustathius (οἱ δὲ ἀμέργονται γράφουσι). Nicander probably used the same verb to describe the collection of tree-sap at *Alex.* 546: πεύκης ἀπὸ δάκρυ’ ἀμέρξας,¹¹⁸ and although ἀμέργω/-ομαι is most often used of picking flowers or fruit (e.g., Eurip., *Her.* 397; Moschus, *Europa* 32; [Theoc.] 26, 3), it appears closer in sense to the gloss δρέπω, which is offered by Eustathius and the scholia to D., than does ἀμέλγω. The two verbs were easily confused (see, e.g., Ap. Rhod. 1, 882; 4, 1144 and Livrea *ad loc.*; Nonnus, *Dion.* 38, 379 *et al.*). Indeed Eustathius saw ἀμέλγω and ἀμέργω not as two distinct verbs, but as two spellings of the same verb, equivalent in meaning to ἀπομόργνυμι or ἐκπίαζω (*Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2, 269 = p. 218, 8ff. van der Valk).

294-7 D. traverses the eastern borders of Celtica, from the border with Italy northwards to the Rhine, which formed the border with Germany, whence he will continue his progression eastwards across northern Europe.

294 The land situated to the east of Celtica along the Mediterranean coast was actually Liguria (see Polybius 2, 16; Strabo 5, 2, 1 etc.), which extended as far as Pisa(e), according to Mela (2, 4) and Polybius (*loc. cit.*), or as far as Luna (Luni), according to Pliny (*N. H.* 3, 5), Ptolemy (3, 1, 4) and Strabo (5, 2, 5), the River Macra(s),

¹¹⁸Note v. l.: δάκρυα μόρξα(ι)ς.

roughly five miles north of Luna, serving as the boundary between Liguria and Tyrrhenia/Etruria.¹¹⁹ It is of course possible that D. is here using ‘Tyrrhenian’ to mean ‘Italian’.¹²⁰ At 345ff., however, the Tyrrhenians are the first in a catalogue of the peoples of Italy, which begins in the northwest, and where again D. omits Liguria and the Ligurians. Strabo is dismissive in his treatment of the region at 5, 2, 1 (ἡ Λιγυστική ἢ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἀπεννίνοις ὄρεσι, μεταξὺ ἰδρυμένη τῆς νῦν λεχθείσης Κελτικῆς καὶ τῆς Τυρρηνίας, οὐδὲν ἔχουσα περιηγήσεως ἄξιον, πλὴν ὅτι κωμηδὸν ζῶσι, τραχεῖαν γῆν ἀροῦντες καὶ σκάπτοντες, μᾶλλον δὲ λατομοῦντες) and there seems to have been a general ignorance of Liguria and the Ligurians, although D. does mention the Ligurian Sea at 76.¹²¹ There is evidence, however, that Hadrian reorganized Italy into four administrative regions, one of which included Tyrrhenia / Etruria, and it is possible that D. here had in mind this enlarged region.¹²²

295 Polybius provides the earliest surviving description of the Alps, claiming to have crossed the mountains himself (3, 48). According to him they stretched from Marseilles almost to the head of the Adriatic, stopping just short of that sea (2, 14): ἡ τῶν Ἀλπεων παρῳρία, λαμβάνουσα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ

¹¹⁹Strabo, however, locates the Macra(s) between Luna and Pisa(e), which suggests that he confused either the town of Luna with the harbour of the same name, which was indeed situated to the north of the Macra(s), or an old tribal frontier between Liguria and Etruria further south towards Pisa(e) with the Augustan frontier at the Macra(s), see R. Thomsen, *The Italic Provinces* (Copenhagen, 1947), p. 124.

¹²⁰On the collective use of the term ‘Tyrrhenian’ by the Greeks see Dion. Hal. 1, 29. See also E. Dench on Aristoxenus *Fr.* 124 Wehrli (2) = Athenaeus 14, 632a: “‘Tyrrhenians’ had undoubtedly figured more prominently and longer in the Greek imagination than had any other Italian peoples and Aristoxenus may be resorting to an ethnocentric ‘part for the whole’ allocation” (*From Barbarians to New Men* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 52f.).

¹²¹See Dion. Hal. 1, 10: οἱ γὰρ Λίγυες οἰκοῦσι μὲν καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πολλαχῇ, νέμονται δὲ τινὰ καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς. ὁποτέρᾳ δ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ γῆ πατρίς, ἄδηλον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν προσωτέρῳ σαφὲς οὐδέν.

¹²²See *H.A. Hadrian* 22, 13; *Ant. Pius* 2, 1 - 3, 1; *M. Aurel.* 11, 6.

Σαρδῶνον πέλαγος τόπων, παρήκουσα δὲ συνεχῶς μέχρι πρὸς τὸν τοῦ παντὸς Ἀδρίου μυχόν, πλὴν βραχέος, ὃ προκαταλήγουσα λείπει τοῦ μὴ συνάπτειν αὐτῷ. In the imperial period the Alps were often described as forming a semi-circle, which reached northwards from Liguria towards Germany and then eastwards towards Thrace (see Mela 2, 4; Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 5; Strabo 5, 1, 3). However, D. describes them here as beginning to the east of Tyrrhenia, which would suggest that he located the mountains towards the centre of northern Italy, if not still further to the east, depending upon what he saw as Tyrrhenia's boundaries (see on 294 above).

ἀναφαίνεται : cf. Homer, *Il.* 11, 174 (=17, 244), ἄ. αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος, and 11, 62, ἄ. οὐλίος ἀστήρ, which perhaps inspired Aratus, *Phaen.* 472, διαφαίνεται (same *sedes*), of the appearance of the stars on a clear night.

296 μεσσατίης : this form of the superlative is Hellenistic. Cf., e.g., Callim., *Hymn* 3, 78, μεσσάτιον; Nicander, *Ther.* 104, μεσσατίην (same *sedes*).

Mention of the Rhine in connection with the Alps may suggest the common belief that the sources of the river lay in these mountains (see Caesar, *B. G.* 4, 10; Mela 3,2; Strabo 4, 3, 3).

297 At 567 D. is more specific, describing the mouth of the Rhine as situated opposite Britain (cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 16 and Strabo 4, 5, 1 for this location of the river-mouth).

χεῦμα : the Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 23, 561), frequent in D., is also used by Callim. (*Hymn* 1, 32 and 37; *Hymn* 4, 101) and Ap. Rhod. (4, 1242 etc.), but is more common in Tragedy.

βορειάδος ἀμφιτρίτης : cf. 201, 324 and 614 for similar verse-endings.

298-329 D. employs the river Ister, now the Danube (see below on 298), to divide the remainder of northern Europe itself into northern and southern sections, and to guide his description towards the Black Sea (Euxine) and the border with Asia. He details first those peoples to the north of this dividing-line and then those to the south, beginning each time in the west and ending in the east (on this pattern of description in D. see above on 174-268).

298 Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 215:

μεσσόθεν ἡμιτελῆς περιτέλλεται ἱερός Ἴππος.

Kidd *ad loc.* notes that περιτέλλεται is used by Aratus of the east-west movement of the sun, stars, and constellations. ἐπιτέλλεται is also used normally of rising stars, and so is a v.l. at Aratus, *Phaen.* 55 (ἐπιλάμπεται ἀστήρ). Cf. esp. Hesiod, *Op.* 566f.:

δή ῥα τότε ἀστήρ

Ἄρκτοῦρος προλιπῶν ἱερὸν ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο

πρῶτον παμφαίνων ἐπιτέλλεται ἀκροκνέφαιος.

For ἱερός of rivers see also Homer, *Il.* 11, 725; *Od.* 10, 351, etc. For similar verse-endings with ἱερός see also, e.g., Homer, *Il.* 16, 407 (ἱερὸν ἰχθύν); Hesiod, *Op.* 597 and 805 (ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν); Callim., *Fr.* 384, 11 (ἱερὸν ἰσθμόν). One of the mouths of the Ister was in fact called τὸ ἱερὸν στόμα. According to Strabo (7, 3, 15) this mouth was the largest and southernmost mouth of the river, branching off from that known as Peuce, which ran to the south of the island of Peuce (see on 301 below).¹²³

¹²³Ptolemy identifies Peuce with the Sacred Mouth, drawing no distinction between the two branches of the delta (3, 10, 2). However, Pliny states that Peuce was in fact the southernmost

Although D. like other Greek poets uses only the name Ister, by the second century the river was already becoming widely known by the name 'Danube' (Δανούβιος, *Danuvius*). This name first appears in Caesar (*B. G.* 6, 25), possibly meaning only one section of the river, which he thought to be separate, just as Diod. Sic. does (4, 56, 7). Later, among those who did recognise the Danube and Ister as one, some used the name 'Danube' of the upper section of the river and 'Ister' of the lower section (see, e.g., Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 79; Strabo 7, 3, 13). Others apparently treated the names as interchangeable (see, e.g., Amm. Marc. 27, 5, 2-5; Mela 2, 1-5), although even in Latin 'Danube' was regarded as the barbarian name for the river (see Mela 2, 8 and Horace, *Odes* 4, 14, 45 and 15, 21).

The identification of the Ister with the Danube seems to have been closely related to the discovery of the sources of the river in the Black Forest, which is dated to the reign of Augustus¹²⁴. There had long been widely divergent views as to the location of these sources. Hdt. places them among the Celts, near a town, he says, by the name of Pyrene (2, 33), which should probably be identified with modern Port Vendres, lying on the Mediterranean coast just to the north of the Pyrenees.¹²⁵ Similarly Aristotle states that the river flows from the

mouth of the Ister, the Sacred Mouth being swallowed up in swampland (*N. H.* 4, 79. See also Tacitus, *Germ.* 1, 1). This fits with the identification of Peuce with what is now known as the St. George branch of the delta, and of the Sacred Mouth with the Danuvez branch. The Sacred Mouth then, it seems, was once the southernmost mouth of the river to empty into the Black Sea, before the accumulation of alluvial deposits helped to form the lagoon into which it now runs.

¹²⁴It seems that the sources of the river were not discovered until the campaigns led by Drusus and Tiberius against the Raeti and Vindelici, tribes occupying those lands lying between the Ister and Lake Como. For a celebration of the victories won over these tribes in 15 B. C., see Horace *Ode* 4, 14. On the campaigns in general see Dio 14, 22, 4; Suetonius, *Aug.* 29 & *Tib.* 9; Velleius Paterculus 2, 95, 2 etc. For Tiberius' sighting of the sources see Strabo 7, 1, 5.

¹²⁵Livy refers to a town by the name of Portus Pyrenaeus (34, 8), which seems to have been known also as Portus Veneris, the site of a temple to Venus Pyrenaea (see Mela 2, 5; Ptolemy 2, 10, 1; Strabo 4, 1, 3 etc.). This town has been identified with Port Vendres (see *RE* 22, coll. 411-18 & 24, col. 12), and the name of Portus Pyrenaeus, among other things, suggests that it should be identified too with Herodotus' Πυρήνη. For a full discussion of Herodotus' location of Πυρήνη, the Celts and the sources of the Ister see Lloyd *ad loc.*, *op. cit.* (above n. 76).

Pyrenees (*Meteor.* 1, 13), and there is some evidence that this view continued to be popular until as late as the sixth century at least (see Procopius, *Aed.* 4, 5). However, Ap. Rhod. describes the Ister at one point as running from the Rhipaeian mountains in the far north of Europe (4, 282ff.).¹²⁶ Although D.'s reference to the Ister's origins is somewhat vague ('Ρήνω δ' ἐξείης ἐπιτέλλεται), it seems that he located the sources of the river in the southwest of Germany, in or near the Black Forest (e.g., Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 79; Strabo 7, 1, 5; Tacitus, *Germ.* 1, 2-3. See also below on 300-1 for D.'s understanding of the course of the Ister).

299 D. seems to have had in mind Aratus, *Phaen.* 632-3:

καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐς λοφιὴν τετραμμένον ἄχρι παρ' αὐτὴν
δύνει

However, whereas Aratus consistently uses the participle τετραμμένος to mean 'pointing' (see Kidd on Aratus, *Phaen.* 30), here it carries an added sense of movement (see above on 283).

αὐτός : the v. l. ἰστρος, adopted by Müller, seems to offer better sense and is supported by the fact that the resulting anadiplosis finds several parallels elsewhere in the text (e.g., 354-5: Ῥώμην / Ῥώμην; and 502-3: Ἰδη / Ἰδη).

300 D. perhaps had in mind here Homer, *Od.* 5, 403:

δεινὸν ἐρευγόμενον, εἴλυτο δὲ πάνθ' ἄλὸς ἄχνη.

παῖσαν : according to Ap. Rhod. the Ister bifurcated in Thrace, one stream emptying into the Black Sea and the other into the Adriatic

¹²⁶On the location of the Rhipaeian mountains cf. Aeschylus, *Fr.* 197 Nauck²; Callimachus, *Fr.* 186, 9; Ptolemy 3, 5, 5 etc. See too *RE* 1. A. 1. coll. 846-916 and below on l. 315.

Ap. Rhod. also describes the Ister as a branch of Ocean. On this apparent contradiction and Ap. Rhod. 's location of the river's sources in general see Delage, *op. cit.* (above n. 65), p. 196.

(4, 282ff.). Indeed the notion that there was a secondary branch to the river seems to have been popular at one time (see, e.g. , Aristotle, *H.A.* 8, 13; pseudo-Scylax 20; pseudo-Scymnus 773-6. Cf. Hdt. 2, 33-4 for the Ister as mirroring the Nile and emptying only into the Mediterranean). Strabo, however, is critical of such a notion (1, 2, 39), and D. here, by describing the river as pouring ‘all’ its water into the Black Sea (Euxine), adopts the same view-point.

ἐρεύγεται : the verb and its compounds ἀπερεύγομαι and ἐπερεύγομαι are common in D. Cf. esp. 693: ἀπερεύγεται ἄχνην. There, as here, D. possibly had in mind Ap. Rhod. 2, 984:

Πόντον ἐς Ἄξεινον κυρτὴν ὑπερεύγεται ἄκρην.¹²⁷

See also Livrea on Ap. Rhod. 4, 631 for ἐπερεύγεται as coined by Ap. Rhod. and attested otherwise only in D. (95 and 122).

ὔδατος ἄχνην : the same phrase appears at Ap. Rhod. 4, 1238 and Callim., *Hymn* 4, 14. It echoes the Homeric ἀλὸς ἄχνη (*Od.* 5, 403 and *Il.* 4, 426).

301 πενταπόροις : the adjective is attested only here, although compounds with πόρος are not unusual (cf. ἑπταπόρου Νείλοιο 264 above). Hdt. describes as πεντάστομος both the Ister (4, 47) and the Nile (2, 10), which fits his conception of the two rivers as mirror images of one another (2, 33-4, see above on 222. For the Ister's five mouths see also, e.g. , Arrian *Periplus* 24; pseudo-Scymnus 773). As with the Nile, however, there were differing accounts as to the number of mouths the Ister had, and it was as commonly given seven (see, e.g., Mela 2, 7; Strabo 7, 3, 15; Val. Flaccus 185f.).

¹²⁷See D. Ruhnken, *Epistola Critica II ad J.A. Ernesti* (1751) for the emendation ἀπερεύγεται ἄχνην.

ἐλίσσόμενος : see above on 198 for the use of this verb in D. and in Aratus. For the middle participle in this *sedes* cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 171, 458, 570, 856.

Πεύκη : the earliest surviving reference to this island is by Ap. Rhod (4, 309ff.).¹²⁸ He describes the Argonauts as entering the Ister via the Fair Mouth (Καλὸν στόμα), which is elsewhere identified as the third mouth to the north (see Amm. Marc. 22, 8; Pliny, *N.H.* 4, 79; Ptolemy 3, 10, 2; Solinus 13, 1), but, according to Ap. Rhod.'s description, forms the island's southern boundary and, it seems, the southernmost mouth of the river.¹²⁹ Ap. Rhod. mentions no distributaries other than those running either side of Peuce and no other islands within the river delta. Instead he appears to ascribe the name Peuce to the entire delta, and D.'s somewhat confusing description of the island as visited by five mouths of the Ister suggests that he, similarly, may use 'Peuce' of the delta as a whole. Other surviving sources, however, refer to Peuce as the southernmost of several islands within the delta (see Mela 2, 7; Pliny, *N.H.* 4, 79; Solinus 13, 1; Strabo 7, 3, 15, etc.).

It is interesting to note pseudo-Scymnus' claim that the island was named Πεύκη because of the number of pines found there (789f.: διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἔχει Πευκῶν), while Ap. Rhod.'s description of the island, by stressing its triangular shape, might perhaps suggest that its name derived from its similarity in form to a pine-cone or the conical shape of the tree itself.

302-319 Although there is some sense of an overall west-east progression within these lines, D.'s catalogue of the peoples to the

¹²⁸The scholia *ad loc.*, however, include a description of the island attributed to Eratosthenes.

¹²⁹ On the identification of the stream which runs to the South of the island see above on 298. On Ap. Rhod.'s confusion of the mouths of the river see Delage, *op. cit.* (above n. 65), p. 205.

north of the Ister is highly selective. Those named are not always easy to identify, and there are some striking omissions. For example there is no specific mention of the Suevi (or Suebi), a large German tribe of whom the Marcomanni were a part, and against whom Rome battled in the so-called 'Marcomannic Wars' in the latter half of the second century A.D. (see Pliny, *N.H.* 4, 80; Strabo 7, 1, 3-5), or of the Roxolani, a Sarmatian tribe who seem to have made frequent incursions into the provinces of Moesia and Dacia (see Pliny *ibid.* ; Strabo 7, 3, 17).

303 πολλὰ μάλ' : a Homeric clausula (*Il.* 9, 148 etc.), imitated also by Aratus at *Phaen.* 428.

στόμα λίμνης : the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The same phrase occurs at Ap. Rhod. 4, 1572; Colluthus 211; Nonnus, *Dion.* 14, 386 and 33, 214. It seems to be an echo of a reading, attested, although rejected, by Aristarchus, of Homer, *Il.* 6, 4 (see Leaf *ad loc.*):

μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης

According to Strabo, alluvial deposits from the Scamander and Simoeis formed a marsh at the mouth of the Simoeis, which was called the Στομαλίμνη (13, 1, 31).¹³⁰ Strabo uses the same noun in describing the Rhone delta (4, 1, 8). Cf. Theocritus, *Id.* 4, 23: στομάλιμνον.

304 Γερμανοί : there were a large number of German tribes, most of which were situated in the west, but some of which occupied areas further east, towards the Black Sea, such as the Bastarnae. It is clear that the northern and eastern limits of Germany itself were less well

¹³⁰Cf. A. Platt, 'Homerica', *J. P.* 19 (1891), p. 38f., who notes that at Tryphiodorus 326 similarly there is mention of an estuary at the mouth of the Simoeis, referred to as the Στομαλίμνη.

known and difficult to define (see Strabo 7, 2, 4; Tacitus, *Germ.* 1 and 46).

Σαμάται : no other reference to a people by this name has survived. The scholia *ad loc.* suggest that by Σαμάται D. means the Sarmatians (Σαρμάται), omitting the ρ to fit the requirements of the metre. He describes the same people at the opening of his section on Asia, where he calls them Σαυρομάται, employing the standard hexametrical form of the name (652ff.). It appears that they occupied a vast territory extending east and west of the Black Sea. A branch of the Sarmatians, known as the Iazyges, occupied the area between Pannonia and Dacia, according to Pliny (*N.H.* 4, 80) and Ptolemy (3, 7, 17 and 8, 1),¹³¹ from which well-suited position they made recurrent attacks on Roman territory throughout the second century A.D.¹³² D. is possibly referring here to these Iazyges,¹³³ and progressing eastward therefore along the northern banks of the Ister. He may, however, be referring to the Sarmatians in general, the greater part of whom were located further east (Ptolemy 3, 5, 7; Strabo 7, 2, 4).

Γέται : Pliny identifies this tribe with the Daci (*N. H.* 4, 80), while Strabo claims that the Getae inhabited the eastern regions and the Daci the western regions of the same empire (7, 3, 12), treating them as both allied to and distinct from one another. Modern authorities too have differed over the relationship between the Getae and Daci, but more recent historians tend to differentiate them from

¹³¹More precisely Pliny states that these Iazyges were situated between Pannonian Carnuntum (near Vienna) and the River Pathissus. Ptolemy names the river which served as the border with Dacia as the Tibiscum. He seems to have identified the Tibiscum with the Tisza, although later writers appear to distinguish between the two, referring to the rivers of the Tibisia and the Tysia individually, and apparently identifying the former with the Timis (see *Geog. Ravenn.* 4, 14; Jornandes, *Get.* 34).

¹³²See T. Talbot-Rice, 'The Scytho-Sarmatian Tribes of Southeast Europe', in F. Millar, *The Roman Empire and its Neighbours* (2nd ed.: London, 1981), p. 292.

¹³³There were also Iazyges to the North of Lake Maeotis, see Amm. Marcellinus 22, 8, 30; Ptolemy 3, 5, 7; Strabo 7, 3, 17.

one another.¹³⁴ The fact that the Getae are repeatedly associated with the Daci suggests that the two tribes intermingled. Certainly they were geographically close, for the Getae seem to have been centred around the lower stretch of the Ister, immediately east of Dacia (see Ovid, *P.* 1, 8, 5ff. and 4, 7, 21ff; *Tr.* 2, 191f. and 5, 7, 9ff.; Strabo 7, 3, 13-14). It appears that they were a Thracian people (see, e.g., Hdt. 4, 93; Strabo 7, 3, 2ff.).

Βαστάρναι : Dio asserts that the Bastarnae should be classed as Scythians (51, 23), while Tacitus indicates that they ought to be categorised as Sarmatians or Germans, bearing greatest resemblance to the latter (*Germ.* 46). Pliny and Strabo are more decided in linking them with the Germans (*N. H.* 4, 80; Strabo 7, 3, 17). As to their situation, they appear to have established themselves on Peuce and to have occupied an indefinite expanse to the northwest of this island (see Dio 51, 23; Ptolemy 3, 5, 7; Strabo 7, 2, 4 and 3, 17).

305 Δακῶν : the Daci were a large people inhabiting a vast area immediately north of the Ister. After Trajan's victory over them in A.D. 106 the Roman province of Dacia was formed, lasting until 271. While the Ister defined the province in the south, the remains of a *vallum* near Porolissum (Mojgrad) indicate the position of its northern frontier.¹³⁵ In the West Dacia was bordered by the Sarmatian Iazyges, and in the East by the Hierasus (Siretul), according to Ptolemy (3, 8, 1), but there is evidence that Dacian tribes dwelled also outside these provincial boundaries.¹³⁶

¹³⁴See T. Mommsen, *A History of Rome under the Emperors II* (Munich, 1992), p.329 (MH. II, 273), for the identification of the Getae with the Daci. For differentiation between the two cf., e.g., D. Berciu, 'The Dacians in the First Century AD: the Roman Conquest', in F. Millar, *op. cit.* (above n. 132), p. 272.

¹³⁵See Mommsen, *op. cit.* (above n. 134), p. 314 (MH. II, 236).

¹³⁶See Berciu, *art. cit.* (above n. 134), p. 279.

The Daci appear to have been closely affiliated with the Getae (see above on l. 304). According to Strabo, Daci and Getae spoke the same language, and this suggests that, like the Getae, the Daci were probably Thracian (see Strabo 7, 3, 10 and 13).

ἄσπετος αἶα : given that D. is here listing peoples rather than territories, it is tempting to emend this to ἄσπετα φύλα,¹³⁷ which D. also uses at 138 (same *sedes*), and 186. Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 240, ἄσπετον ἔθνος (same *sedes*), and 1001, στρατὸς ἄσπετος with Livrea *ad loc.*, who describes these as Apollonian *iuncturae*, noting that ἄσπετος is not applied to animate beings in Homer. Cf. also Priscian 296, *Dacorum manus*.

ἄλκῆεντες Ἀλανοί : the Alani were a Scythian tribe, sometimes identified with the Massagetae (see Amm. Marcellinus 23, 5, 16; Dio 69, 15; Ptolemy 3, 5, 7). They were concentrated in those regions to the north and east of the Sea of Azov, but also spread westward and southward (see Amm. Marcellinus 22, 8, 42 and 31, 2, 13ff.), a persistent threat to Rome's outlying provinces. Indeed attempts by the Alani to cross into Roman Cappadocia caused Hadrian to undertake a campaign against this tribe in A. D. 134/5 (see Arrian, *Expedition contra Alanos*; Dio *ibid.*). It might be argued that D. composed the *Periegesis* shortly after this date and thus refers to the Alani as ἄλκῆεντες, an epithet which he uses otherwise only of the Achaeans (682), in order to represent them as a worthy enemy. However, to extract from the epithet a *terminus post quem* for the poem is probably to give it too much weight.

306 Ταῦροι : this tribe once occupied the greater part of the Crimea, which thus became known as the Chersonesus Taurica (see Hdt. 4, 11;

¹³⁷This emendation was suggested by Alan Griffiths.

Ptolemy 3, 6; Strabo 7, 4, 1 and 4-5). By the time of Hadrian's reign the peninsula had long been under the rule of a Thracian dynasty, supported by Rome,¹³⁸ but, nevertheless, Tauri appear to have continued to inhabit areas of the Crimea, and of the neighbouring Black Sea coast (see Mela 2, 1; Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 85; Ptolemy 3, 5, 11).

According to Hdt. the Tauri were to be distinguished from the nearby Scythians (4, 99), but by Strabo they are classed as Scythians themselves (7, 4, 2 and 5). Others refer to Scythotauri (Pliny *ibid.*) or Tauroscythes (Ptolemy *ibid.*). It seems that the two peoples were thought to have been distinct at one time, but later to have merged (see also *RE* 5 A 1, col. 22, on the date of the Scythian advance into this region).

It is worth noting that D. does not refer to any of the barbaric practices commonly attributed to the Tauri, such as human sacrifice (see Diod. Sic. 4, 44f.; Hdt. 4, 103; Mela 2, 1 etc.).

Ἀχιλλῆος δρόμον : this was the name given to an elongated peninsula to the Northwest of the Crimea, which is now divided into two sections. The western section forms the island known as Tendra, and that to the east is named Djarilgatch. According to the scholia *ad loc.* it was so called because, when Iphigenia was saved by the goddess Artemis from sacrifice at Aulis, she was sent to Scythia, and was followed by Achilles, who remained there with her. An alternative *aetion* is offered elsewhere (see, e.g., Mela 2, 1; Pliny 4, 83), namely that Achilles used the peninsula as an exercise-ground during games he held to celebrate his victories in the Black Sea. This seems to better correspond with the term δρόμος, although there was indeed a tradition that Achilles became the consort of Iphigenia.¹³⁹

¹³⁸See Mommsen, *op. cit.* (above n. 134), p. 315 (MH II, 237) on the particular nature of the relationship between Rome and the Crimea in this period.

¹³⁹See esp. Lycophron 192ff. & 200ff.

However, according to Antoninus Liberalis (*Fr.* 27), this was on the island of Leuce, also in the Black Sea, which was otherwise known as the Isle of the Blessed, where Achilles and other heroes were said to have gone in death.¹⁴⁰ It is easy to see that the island of Leuce and the Track of Achilles might readily have been confused, through their proximity and the fact that both sites were linked with the same hero, and it seems probable that the scholiast to D., or his source, confounded the myths surrounding the two (cf. Maximus of Tyre 9, 7, where the same confusion is apparent).

In no other extant text is the peninsula to which D. refers itself said to have been inhabited by Tauri, although other authors do locate the tribe on the adjoining tract of land (see Mela 2, 1; Ptolemy 3, 5, 11).

αἰπύν : see on 371 below (αἰπύν . . . δόμον).

307ff. On the acrostic within these lines see Introduction, pp. 27ff.

307 ἐς στόμα λίμνης : this reading was clearly known to Priscian (298: *Maeotidis ostia iuxta*), and it is adopted by both Müller and Tsavari. The resulting repetition (cf. 303) could perhaps be adduced as support for the variant ἔσχατα λίμνης, although the awkwardness of the repetition might also suggest that ἐς στόμα λίμνης should be adopted as the *lectio difficilior*.

As noted above (see on 306), the Tauri were thought to occupy the Crimea and, whichever reading is followed, it is probably the Cimmerian Bosphorus which is meant here (see above on 303).

¹⁴⁰ Achilles was held in particular honour in the Black Sea region as a whole and was given the title ποντάρχης (see *C.I.G.* 2076 and 2077). Cf. the scholiast on Ap. Rhod. 2, 658 who refers to the banks of the river Phyllis in Bithynia as Ἀχιλλέως δρόμοι.

308 πολυῖππων : the epithet is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 13, 171), found otherwise only at Tryphiodorus 171.

308-9 φῦλον Ἀγαυῶν καὶ Ἴππημολγοί : cf. *Il.* 13, 4ff.:

νόσφιν ἐφ' ἵπποπόλων Θρηκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν
Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἴππημολγῶν
γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.

The above reading is that which is now generally accepted, the epithet γλακτοφάγων appearing to explicate Ἴππημολγῶν, and indicating that this should be regarded as a name and ἀγαυῶν as an epithet (Janko *ad loc.*). In antiquity, however, there were those who read Ἀγαυῶν as the name and ἵππημολγῶν as the epithet (see Stephanus Byzantius, under Ἀβιοί). By making names of both words D. seems to be alluding to these problematic verses and indicating his preference for an alternative reading of the text. For similar references by D. to such Homeric problems see above on 180 and 303.

Strabo, commenting on the Homeric passage, treats Ἴππημολγοί and Γλακτοφάγοι as names referring to the Scythians and Sarmatians (7, 3, 2ff.). The Scythians were, it seems, renowned for drinking mare's milk (see Hdt. 4, 2; Hippocrates *Aer.* 18 etc.), and ἵππημολγοί is attached to them as an epithet by Hesiod (*Fr.* 150. 15). Cf. Callim. *Hymn* 3, 252, where the same epithet describes the Cimmerians.

309 Μελάνχλαινοι : Hdt. locates the Melanchlaeni to the North of Scythia, that is to say to the Northwest of the Sea of Azov (4, 20 and 100ff.). Although he describes their customs as Scythian, he distinguishes them from the Scythians themselves, unlike Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 1 F185).

310 **Νευροί** : according to Hdt. the Neuri were situated on the northern borders of Scythia, like the Melanchlaeni to their East (*N. H.* 4, 17 and 51). They seem to have occupied a large area extending to the East and West of the Bug, between the upper courses of the Dniester and the Dnieper (see Hdt. 4, 17-18; Mela 2, 1; Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 12).

It is perhaps worth noting that D. makes no mention of the Anthropophagi, whom Hdt. and others locate near the Neuri and Melanchlaeni (Hdt. 4, 100; Mela *loc cit.*), nor of the myth that the Neuri transformed once a year into wolves, returning afterwards to their human form (Hdt. 4, 105 etc.). Cf. below on the Hippopodes.

Ἰππόποδες : this mythical tribe of horse-hoofed humans is described by Mela (3, 6) and Pliny (*N. H.* 4, 13) as inhabiting certain islands off the Scytho-Sarmatian coast. Ptolemy however, like D., situates them on the mainland, in the same region as the Melanchlaeni, Geloni and Agathyrsi (3, 5, 10).

D. typically avoids the mention of peoples with fabulous customs or features, and his inclusion of the Hippopodes is therefore unusual.

Γελωνοί : according to Hdt. (4, 108-9) this tribe were of Greek origin and were not to be confused with the Budini, among whom they lived. He places the Budini to the East of the Tanais (4, 21), therefore his location of the Geloni is inconsistent with their inclusion among the tribes of Europe by D. here and by Ptolemy (3, 5, 10).

Eustathius *ad loc.* notes that the Geloni and Agathyrsi were thought by some to be the descendants of Heracles, as too were the Scythians (see Hdt. 4, 8ff.).

Ἀγάθυρσοι : the Agathyrsi are situated by Hdt. on Scythia's western border and around the upper course of the Muresul (4, 49 and

100). This would place them in the heart of Dacia, that is in modern Transylvania. However, Mela (2, 1) and Pliny (*N. H.* 4, 88) differ from Hdt. in that they describe the Agathyrsi as a Scythian people dwelling west of the Sea of Azov (Palus Maeotis), and therefore somewhat to the north and east of Dacia. D. appears to locate them still further to the north, near the ocean (see 316ff.).

311 Βορυσθένης : the Borysthenes seems to have been regarded as an important river from an early period, and by the second century A.D. much of its course at least was relatively well-known (see Hdt. 4, 53; Mela 2, 1; Ptolemy 3, 5, 7). Furthermore the river apparently shared its name with Hadrian's favourite horse (see Dio 69, 10).

τετανυσμένον : see above on 174. Cf. also 225 where the same participle is used of the Nile.

312 Κριοῦ προπάροιθε μετώπου : the 'Ram's Brow' was the name given to the southernmost headland of the Crimea, now known as Cape Karadje, which was commonly said to lie directly opposite Cape Carambis on the Thracian Bosphorus (on which see D. 150ff. See also Mela 2, 1; Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 86; Ptolemy 3, 6, 2; Strabo 7, 4, 3).

313 ὀρθὸν ἐπὶ γραμμῇ : this explains προπάροιθε in the line above. Having offered there an approximation of the location of the mouth of the Dnieper, D. elaborates upon this by indicating the longitude on which it lies in somewhat more scientific language (see above on 236 for γραμμή as a technical term). Strabo, similarly, locates the river-mouth on the same meridian as Byzantium (1, 4, 1f.; 2, 1, 12-13).

ὀρθόν : of a straight line also at 341. See similarly Aratus, *Phaen.* 496 (same *sedes*). Kidd *ad loc.* compares Soph., *Aj.* 1254, ὀρθὸς εἰς ὁδὸν πορεύεται; Eurip., *Helen* 1556, οὐκ ἤθελ' ὀρθὸς σάνιδα προσβῆναι κάτα. Cf. also Homer, *Od.* 12, 52 (= 162 and 179), ὀρθὸν ἐν ἱστοπέδῃ (same *sedes*).

κατεναντία : for this form of the adverb see also D. 114, 957, and Ap. Rhod. 2, 1116. κατεναντίον is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 21, 567).

Κυανεάων : as D. states at 144f., there was a myth that these rocks, situated at the mouth of the Black Sea, used to clash together, and hence they were also known as the Symplegades (see Ap. Rhod. 1, 3 et al.; Eurip., *Medea* 2 et al. (κυάνεαι Συμπληγάδες); Hdt. 4, 85; Mela 2, 7; Pliny, *N.H.* 4, 13, 92; Strabo 1, 2, 10; 3, 2, 12; 7, 6, 1).

314 κεῖθι : this, like ἔνθα (309) and ἧχι (311), appears to refer back to τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ (308).

Ἀλδήσκοιο : the only earlier extant reference to the Aldescus is in Hesiod's catalogue of rivers at *Theog.* 345:

Εὔηνον τε καὶ Ἀλδῆσκον θεῖον τε Σκάμανδρον.

West *ad loc.* remarks that its name, in particular the -σκος ending, indicates that the river is Thracian. Indeed the similarities between the name of this river and that of the Thracian Ἀρτησκόος or Ἀρτίσκος mentioned by Hdt. (4, 92) are such as to suggest that the two perhaps be identified (cf. also the variants Ἀρδησκον and Ἀρδισκον in the MSS of Hesiod, and *Ardesci* or *Ardisci* in Avienus' translation of D. (*Perieg.*, 450). However, D. here is clearly describing a river the sources of which, at least, lie to the north of Thrace (see 315), and as such the Aldescus has proved impossible to identify.

For a possible connection between the name of the river and the verb ἀλδήσκω see Eustathius on Homer *Il.* 8, 405 (= p. 720 van der Valk).

Παντικάπας : the identity of the Panticapas, like that of the Aldescus, remains obscure. It is listed among the eight most important rivers of Scythia by Hdt., who describes it as a tributary of the Dnieper (Borysthenes), flowing from the north and joining the larger river close to the Track of Achilles (4, 54). The accounts of Pliny (*N. H.* 4, 12) and Mela (2, 1) differ somewhat from that offered by Hdt., yet they too locate the Panticapas in the same region of Scythia, near the Track of Achilles.

315 D. here echoes Ap. Rhod. 4, 287:

Ῥιπαίοις ἐν ὄρεσιν ἀπόπροθι μορμύρουσιν.

These words of Ap. Rhod. refer to the sources of the Ister, which, as noted above (on 298), he located in the northernmost regions of the inhabited world. The Rhipaeian Mountains were widely associated with the Hyperboreans (see, e.g., Aeschylus, *Fr.* 73 Radt; Mela 3, 5), a mythical people whose name Ap. Rhod. himself evokes when he describes the Ister as originating πηγὰ ὑπὲρ πνοιῆς βορέας (4, 286), and the mountains too seem to belong within the realm of myth (see Strabo 7, 3, 1). They were commonly located in the extreme north of the inhabited world (cf., e.g., Aristotle, *Meteor.* 350b7; Hippocr., *Aer.* 19; Virgil, *G.* 1, 240), although Posidonius appears to have identified them with the Alps (F240 Kidd = Athenaeus 6, 233d-234c). Like the Ister, the Tanais was another major river which was held by some to rise in the Rhipaeian Mountains (see Mela 2,1; Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 12 and 6, 15), and there were, it seems, a number of smaller rivers the sources of which were situated there (Aristotle *loc. cit.*). However,

neither the Aldescus nor the Panticapas is connected with these mountains by any other extant source.

316-19 D. rounds off his catalogue of peoples and places to the north of the Ister through reference to the amber and diamonds which, he tells us, might be found there. He concludes the following description of the region immediately to the south of the Ister with a corresponding passage, again referring to two stones, the first of which he again compares to a heavenly body (327-9).

There are a number of such passages in the *Periegesis* in which D. focuses upon minerals and other natural substances of ornamental worth, like amber and coral (cf. 292f.; 723ff.; 780ff.; 1011ff.; 1075ff.; 1103ff. and 1118ff.), lending some support to the identification of this D. as author of another work, the *Lithica*, on which see Introduction, pp. 11f.¹⁴¹

316 The reading προχοῆσι is attested by the scholiast, supported by the translation of Priscian (308: *Immiscent qua se Ponti glacialibus undis*), and echoes 290 where amber is evoked in its Celtic and mythical associations (*q. v.*). Here D. brings in the scientific idea of amber as solidified by the cold of water (Aristotle, *Meteor.* 388b21), while at the same time recalling Euripides (see on 317-18).

πεπηγότης ἐγγύθι πόντου : at 30ff. D. explains that in the far north the circumambient ocean was known as the Frozen Sea, the Saturnian Sea or the Dead Sea.

317-18 The Greek ἤλεκτρος was used both of amber and of electrum, an alloy of gold and silver, also known as oreichalcos (Pliny, *N. H.* 36,

¹⁴¹There is sadly no mention of ἤλεκτρος, ἀδάμας, ἀστέριος or λυχνίς in the surviving passages of the *Lithica*, nor any evidence of D.'s views on the formation of stones generally.

46), yet D. is probably referring here to amber. This was widely known to be found along the Baltic coast, so Pliny reveals (*N. H.* 4,16 and 37, 11).¹⁴² Pliny, however, asserts that those who held that it was formed on the mainland, like D., were mistaken, but that it originated on certain islands off the coast of Germany, which thus became known to the Greeks as the Electrides, and was washed up thence on the shores of the mainland.

D.'s language here is reminiscent of the description of the tears of amber shed by Phaethon's sisters at Euripides, *Hipp.* 741:

τὰς ἠλεκτροφαεῖς αὐγάς.

He may also have had in mind Aratus' description of the waxing moon at *Phaen.* 733-5:

οὐχ ὀράας; ὀλίγη μὲν ὅταν κεράεσσι σελήνη
 ἐσπερόθεν φαίνεται, ἀεξομένοιο διδάσκει
 μηνός· ὅτε πρώτη ἀποκίδναται αὐτόθεν αὐγή.

Cf. Pliny's description of the selenitis as waxing and waning like the moon (*N. H.* 37, 67).

ἡδυφαής : the adjective occurs elsewhere at *A. P.* 6, 295, 6 (Phanias not Phanocles [Ts.]); 9, 399, 3 and 15, 29, 2 (Ignatius).

ἀέξεται : the verb not only fits the simile of the waxing moon but amber too, which was classed as a stone and, like other stones and also metals, was thought to grow. See pseudo-Aristotle, *Mirabilia* 42-4 and 93; Strabo 5, 2, 6; Pliny, *N. H.* 34, 49 and 36, 24; Plotinus 4. 4. 27. 9-11 and 6. 7. 11. 24-30; Javolenus Priscus in Justinian, *Digest* 23. 5. 18; Ulpian in *id.* 24. 3. 7-13; Origen, *On Prayer* 6. 1. 4-9.¹⁴³

¹⁴²Cf. also Ap. Rhod. 461ff. for the myth explaining the origins of amber in connection with the Hyperboreans.

¹⁴³I owe most of these references to R.W. Sharples, *Theophrastus of Ephesus: sources for his life, writings, thought and influence. Commentary vol. 3. 1: Sources on Physics* (Brill: Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1998), p. 182.

318-19 Like ἤλεκτρος, the word ἀδάμας in Greek could denote more than one substance. It was the term used for a type of metal, possibly steel (see, e.g., Hesiod, *Th.* 161), and also for a diamond (see, e.g., Pliny, *N. H.* 37, 15). D.'s use of the plural and the qualifying adjective παμφανόωντα seems to suggest that the reference here is to diamonds. External evidence also indicates that D. is here referring to diamonds rather than any metal. No other extant author specifically locates diamonds on the Baltic coast, but Pliny tells us that Metrodorus of Scepsis, a philosopher who served under Mithridates Eupator, believed diamonds, like amber, to be produced on the island of Basilia, also known as Abalus, situated in the Baltic Sea (*loc. cit.* Cf. *N. H.* 37, 11 on Basilia). Pliny states that to his knowledge no-one other than Metrodorus had recorded any such belief, describing it as patently false. Nevertheless, it is possible that Metrodorus was not alone in connecting diamonds with the Baltic, or indeed that D. used Metrodorus as a source for this region.¹⁴⁴

319 ἀθρήσειας : see above on 209.

ψυχροῖς Ἀγαθύρσοις : D. is the only extant author to situate the Agathyrsi so far to the north of the inhabited world (see on 310 above). Scythia in general and the Rhipaeian Mountains in particular were synonymous with cold (see, e.g., Mela 2, 1; Pliny, *N.H.* 4, 88; Virgil, *Georg.* 3, 381ff. and 4, 517ff.).

320-9 Having completed his catalogue of the peoples to the north of the Ister, D. proceeds to list the peoples immediately to the south of the river, beginning in the west and working his way eastwards. In

¹⁴⁴Diamonds are later again mentioned in connection with the Agathyrsi by Amm. Marcellinus (22, 8, 31), but his description of the location of this tribe is somewhat vague.

accordance with the difference in area covered this list is shorter by comparison, yet there is a symmetry between the two in that each concludes with a reference to the stones which D. claims to be found locally (see above on 316-19).

321 Γέρραι : no earlier extant author locates any tribe by this name here. Editors have therefore been tempted to emend the text, but without succeeding in providing any convincing solution (see Bernhardt *ad loc.*). Given the context it is easy to see why some have wanted to read 'Ραῖτοι rather than Γέρραι, yet, as Bernhardt notes, the ductus of none of the letters corresponds with such a reading. The absence of any mention of the Raeti in a list which includes the prominent peoples of each of the other eponymous provinces lying immediately to the south of the Ister does appear strange. However, it is possible that D. transposed the Γέρραι here from Scythia (Hdt. 4, 19-20 and 71; Mela 2, 1; Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 12; Ptolemy 3, 5, 4).

Νωρίκι' ἄστε' : this reading is clearly preferable to that of 'Ωρίκι' ἄστε' for, while Oricum was the name of a town in modern Albania (Hdt. 9, 93; Mela 2, 3; Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 26 etc.), bordering on the Ister was the Roman province of Noricum. Noricum effectively became a province after the defeat of the Norici in c.15 B.C. (Dio 54, 20ff.; Strabo 4, 6, 9; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 11, and *Ann.* 2, 63). The province was adjoined by those of Raetia in the west, from which it was separated by the Aenus river, Germania Magna in the north, and Pannonia Superior in the east and the southeast, from which it was divided by Mount Cestius and the Savus river. In the south and southwest it was separated from Italy by the Savus, Mount Odra and the Carnic Alps (Ptolemy 2, 13). It therefore covered much of what is now Austria and was for the most part made up by mountains.

The Norici were previously known as Taurisci (Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 24), and seem to have been a Celtic people (Strabo 7, 2, 2 and 3, 2).

ἐρεμνά : the v.l. ἐρυμνά is widely attested. The adjective ἐρυμνός is used by D. elsewhere in describing rocky or mountainous areas (see 245, on Syene, and 385, on coastal Dalmatia), and would be correspondingly appropriate here in the description of this Alpine region.

322 Παννόνιοι : immediately to the east of Noricum was situated Pannonia Superior, and to its east sat Pannonia Inferior, the two Pannoniae split by a line running from Arabona in the north to Servitium in the south. In the southwest the Julian Alps separated Pannonia Superior from Italy, and in the south and southeast the Savus river divided Pannonia from Dalmatia and Moesia Superior (Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 25; Ptolemy 2, 14-15). Formed as a single province in c. A.D. 8 (Dio 55, 28ff.; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 12), Pannonia was split into two by Trajan in A.D. 106-7, following the Dacian wars.

According to Dio, who was *legatus* of Pannonia Superior in 226-8, the Pannonians were wrongly identified by Greek authorities with the Paeonians of Thrace (49, 36). Tacitus indicates that their language was not Germanic (*Germ.* 43), but otherwise there is little evidence as to their origin. Archaeological finds point to the existence of a Celtic population in Pannonia,¹⁴⁵ but the Pannonians themselves may have been indigenous to the region.¹⁴⁶

Μυσοί : according to Hdt. these Mysi had crossed into Europe from Asia Minor before the Trojan war (7, 20). Strabo, however, claims that the Mysi / Moesi of both continents were Thracians (7, 3,

¹⁴⁵Millar, *op. cit.* (above n. 132), pp. 231-2.

¹⁴⁶See Mommsen, *op. cit.* (above n. 134), p. 309 (MH. II 224).

2). Similarities in the names of peoples and places on either side seem to indicate that there was indeed migration across the Hellespont (see Strabo 13, 1, 21), but of course do not prove that this migration occurred in one direction or another.¹⁴⁷

Roman Moesia was divided by the rivers Savus and Drinus from Pannonia and Dalmatia in the west, and reached eastwards as far as the Black Sea. To the south, separated by the mountains Haemus, Orbelus and Scordus, lay Macedonia and Thrace (see Ptolemy 3, 9-10). Moesia, like Pannonia, was originally a single province, but it was the Dacian threat, just as it was to be for Pannonia, which led to its division by Domitian in A.D. 86 into the two provinces, Moesia Superior and Inferior. The Ciabrus river formed the boundary between the two.

323 Θρήῑκες : according to Hdt. the Thracians made up one of the largest peoples in the world, second only to the Indians in number (5, 3). Tribes throughout northern Europe, such as the Getae and Mysi (see above on 322), and others in Asia Minor, such as the Bithynians and the Mysi here too, were connected with the Thracians (Hdt. 7, 75; Strabo 7, 3, 2 and 12, 3, 3). D., nevertheless, limits his description of the Thracians to those inhabiting Thrace itself.

Thrace became a Roman province in A.D. 46 (Eusebius, *Chronica*, s.v. Ol. 208). To the north and northwest of Thrace lay the Moesian provinces, to its east the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, to the south the Aegean, and to the west and southwest Macedonia. The exact boundaries of the province, however, particularly in the west,

¹⁴⁷For the Thracio-Phrygian people of eastern Europe and western Asia Minor see A. Mocsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London and Boston, 1974), p. 27. Leaf argues that Strabo is right to make the eastern Mysi / Moesi emigrants from the west (W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 60ff. and 115ff.). For a discussion of the arguments on either side see R.W. Macan, *Herodotus VII-IX*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (London, 1908), pp. 30ff.

seem to have been somewhat unclear. According to Ptolemy a line running from Mount Orbelus to the mouth of the Nestus river, now the Mesta, formed the boundary between Thrace and Macedonia (3, 11). Strabo, however, seems to make the boundary the river Strymon (Struma), which lies further to the west (7, 7, 4). Both then situate Chalcidice and Pallene in Macedonia, and Pliny too makes Pallene Macedonian (*N. H.* 4, 36). But Mela, like D. at 327ff., describes the peninsula as part of Thrace (2, 2). On the borders of Thrace in general, and the problem of the Thrace / Macedonia border in particular, see B. Gerov, 'Die Grenzen der römischen Provinz Thracia', *A.N.R.W.* II, 7, 1 (1979), pp. 212-40, esp. pp. 232ff.

324-6 οἱ μὲν . . . , οἱ δ' . . . , οἱ δ' . . . : cf. 266-8, 614-5, 645-6, etc. for similar tricola. However, D. here perhaps had in mind Strabo's description of the coast of Thrace at 7, 7, 4: αὕτη δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων οἰκεῖται, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Προποντίδι ἰδρυμένων, τῶν δὲ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ τῷ Μέλανι κόλπῳ, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Αἰγαίῳ. The parallels between this description and that by D. are such that they serve to highlight the main discrepancy between the two: Strabo describes the seaboard of Thrace as inhabited by Greeks, D. emphatically by the Thracians themselves.

324 ἐπὶ πλευρῇσι : the reading adopted by Tsavari is attested by Eustathius. Müller, however, suggests that πλευρῇσι might have originally been a gloss on the correct reading of προβολῇσι. At the same time Müller notes that the parallels between this verse and 614 (αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Λιβυστίδος ἀμφιτρίτης) lend some weight to the argument for adopting the v. l. προχοῇσι, although he also

notes that those MSS which supply προχοῖσι here are the same as those which supply προβολῖσι at 316 (see above).

325 ἀγάρροον : D. uses the same epithet of the Lesser Syrtis (198), but in Homer it is used of the Hellespont alone. Cf. esp. *Il.* 2, 844-5:

Αὐτὰρ Θρήϊκας ἦγ' Ἀκάμας καὶ Πείροος ἥρως,
ὅσσοις Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἔεργει.

326 κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης : D. may have had in mind here Homer, *Il.* 2, 209, where the same phrase is used. The noun-epithet combination alone, however, occurs more widely, in the Homeric poems, and elsewhere. Cf. also Nicander, *Ther.* 890, χεῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο Χοάσπεω/.

327-9 See above on 316-19 for the similar conclusion there and D.'s interest in stones.

327 μελισσοβότοιο Παλλήνης : the compound μελισσοβότος occurs otherwise only at *A. P.* 9, 523 and Nonnus, *Paraphrasis* 1, 13 in the surviving literature. However, numerous other compounds with μελισσ- are attested, see, esp., Eurip., *Tr.* 799: μελισσοτρόφου Σαλαμῖνος. It is difficult to see why D. might have chosen to use the adjective of this specific location.

The Pallene to which D. refers here is the westernmost of the three peninsulas to project into the Aegean from Chalcidice.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that D. may have confused the Chalcidian Pallene with the

¹⁴⁸It is perhaps worth noting, however, that Hellanicus of Lesbos seems to have used the name Pallene to cover all of the eastern shore of the Thermaic gulf (*FGrHist* 4 F31 = Dion. Hal. 1, 47, 6).

deme in Attica of the same name. The Attic deme was situated on the road from Athens to Marathon, between Mt. Pentelicus and Mt. Hymettus,¹⁴⁹ and Mt. Hymettus was renowned in antiquity for its honey (Nicander, *Alex.* 45f.; Pausanias 1, 32; Pliny, *N. H.* 11, 32; Strabo 9, 1, 23 etc.), so it may be that the deme of Pallene itself thus became associated with bees and honey.

However, a town by the name of Melissirgi / Melisurgi / Melisigri is situated by the Antonine Itinerary (320 and 328) and the Peutinger Table to the north of the Chalcidian Pallene and east of Thessalonica, which may indicate that this area was also renowned for its bees, at least in the third century A.D., and perhaps already by D.'s time.

σκοπιᾶς Παλλήνης : these words recall D.'s earlier description of the Pharos at Alexandria: σκοπιαὶ Παλληνίδος Εἰδοθεείης (on which see above on 259). It may be that D. intended here to evoke the panoramic image of the inhabited world as a whole which he drew at the beginning of the section on Europe (269ff.), and according to which Alexandria would sit almost exactly opposite the peninsula of Pallene.

The peninsula was apparently known for its large rocks, which were said to have been used in the battle between the Gods and Giants (Solinus 9, 7). It has been shown that it is probably here and not Pellene in Achaea to which Callim. refers in the *Hecale* as the site from which Athene plucked Mt. Lycabettus (*Fr.* 260, 27), and that by naming the site Πελλήνη Ἀχαιῖς Callim. is alluding to the myth that the peninsula was settled by Achaeans blown off course on their return from Troy (see Mela 2, 33; Pausanias 7, 26, 12; Thuc. 4, 120

¹⁴⁹On the location of the deme of Pallene see esp. E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika* II (Berlin, 1883), pp. 35f. and J.S. Traill, 'The Political Organization of Attica' *Hesperia* Suppl. 14 (1975), pp. 54ff.

etc.).¹⁵⁰ It seems that the names Pallene and Pellene were interchangeable.¹⁵¹ In light of this, it is interesting to note that Ap. Rhod. names among the Argonauts two Pellenians, Asterios and Amphion (1, 177ff.):

Ἄστέριος δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίων Ὑπερασίου υἱὲς
Πελλήνης ἀφίκανον Ἀχαιίδος, ἥν ποτε Πέλλης
πατροπάτωρ ἐπόλισσεν ἐπ' ὄφρυσιν Αἰγιαλοῖο.

With the last word Αἰγιαλοῖο Ap. Rhod. indicates that he is referring here to Pellene in Achaea. Nevertheless, it is tempting to suppose that D., like Callim., and possibly also Ap. Rhod., is playing on the connection between the Chalcidian Pallene / Pellene and that in Achaea, and that he had this passage of the *Argonautica* in mind when describing the stones found on the Chalcidian peninsula: the ἄστέριος and the λυχνίς (328f.).

328 φύεται : for the long initial syllable see Theoc., *Id.* 17, 79 and Gow *ad loc.*

ἄστέριος : there is no extant reference in Greek literature to any stone of this name, although forms of this word do appear from the Hellenistic period on. The adjective is first attested at Aratus, *Phaen.* 695: ἄστερὶν Νύξ. Later the substantive form ἄστέριον is used of a type of spider (Nicander, *Ther.* 725), and of various types of plant (Crateuas, *Fr.* 10. etc.).

However, D. strikingly coincides here with Pliny or his source at *N. H.* 37, 48, where the astrion is said to be a stone found in India but also around the shores of Pallene.¹⁵² Pliny describes the stone as

¹⁵⁰See H. Lloyd-Jones and J. Rea, 'Callimachus, Fragments 260-1', *H.S.C.P.* 72 (1968), pp. 137-40.

¹⁵¹See *R. E.* 19,1, col. 355.

¹⁵²Some editors read Patalene rather than Pallene, although the MSS supply Pallenes, Palenes and Palenis variously.

having within it a bright-shining star resembling the moon, but notes that there were lesser varieties of the stone which had a fainter glow, the worst of all recalling the glimmer of a lantern (cf. on 329 below).

329 λυχνίς : Pliny describes this as a 'fiery' stone occurring in India and on the southwestern shores of Asia Minor, which was particularly beautiful under lamp-light, hence its name (*N. H.* 37, 29). He distinguishes between this and the λυχνίτης, which, he tells us, was another name for the white marble of Paros, so called because it was quarried by lamp-light (36, 4). Strabo, however, seems to have had a gem-stone in mind when describing the λυχνίτης of Masaesyliā (17, 3, 11). In the Orphic *Lithica* (7) the λυχνίς and λυχνίτης are one and the same stone, credited with certain supernatural powers, among them the spontaneous emission of heat (cf. Damigeron-Evax 28, 8 for further supernatural powers attributed to the lychnites, notably the power to extinguish fire, and pseudo-Plutarch, *de Fluviiis* 1, 2 for the λυχνίς as intensely hot). According to the scholiast too λυχνίς and λυχνίτης were two names for the same stone, a stone which was also known as σεληνίτης because it not only shines, but also waxes and wanes like the moon (cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 37, 67 for a similar description of the selinitis). The ἀστέριος and the λυχνίς then might each be identified with the moonstone, and it is possible that they were different names for this same stone. The geologist Ashlyn Armour-Brown, who lived for some years in this area of Greece, has told me that it is indeed possible that feldspars such as moonstones were found in Pallene. For further references to the λυχνίς or λυχνίτης see Lucian, *de Dea Syria* 32; Nonnus, *Dion.* 18, 75; Psellus, *de Lapidum Virtutibus* 71ff. and Solinus 52.

πυρὸς φλογὶ πάμπαν ὁμοίη : despite the fact that D. does not make any direct reference to the identification of Pallene with Phlegra, there may be an allusion to the peninsula's mythical associations in this description of the λυχνίς with its emphasis on fire.¹⁵³ Phlegra was said to have received its name from the lightning-bolts which set the area ablaze and so expelled the giants from their home (see Eustathius *ad D.P.* 327).

πάμπαν ὁμοίη : as Tsavari indicates ὁμοίη is interestingly attested as a variant at Aratus, *Phaen.* 115:

ἀργυρέω δ' ὀλίγη τε καὶ οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐτοίμῃ (Kidd).
Cf. also above on 175 and Aratus, *Phaen.* 58:

λοξὸν δ' ἐστὶ κάρη, νεύοντι δὲ πάμπαν ἔοικεν.

330-446 Concluding his description of northern Europe D. now proceeds to give a fuller account of the southern section of the continent, as made up largely by the three peninsulas of Iberia, Italy and Greece. He devotes only a few lines to Iberia (334-8), before moving on to the account of Italy, which is situated at the centre of the section on Europe (339-82). Continuing eastward from Italy along the coast, D. draws a brief sketch of Dalmatia (383-97), before ending his description of Europe as a whole with Greece (398-446). On the structure of D.'s description of Europe see also above on 269ff.

330 τόσσοι περιναιετάουσιν : cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 367ff.:

τόσσοι δ' αὖθ' ἕτεροι ποταμοὶ καναχηδὰ ρέοντες,
υἱέες Ὠκεανοῦ, τοὺς γείνατο πότνια Τηθύς·

τῶν ὄνομ' ἀργαλέον πάντων βροτὸν ἀνὴρ' ἐνισπεῖν,
οἱ δὲ ἕκαστοι ἴσασιν, οἷς ἂν περιναιετάωσιν.

¹⁵³For Pallene as Phlegra, home of the Giants and site of the Gigantomachy, see Herodotus 7, 123; Lycophron 1404ff.; Pausanias 8, 29, 1; Strabo 7, *Fr.* 25 etc.

West *ad loc.* notes that D. imitates this passage at 644ff.:

ἐκ τοῦ ἀπειρέσιοι ποταμοὶ καναχηδὰ ρέουσιν,
οἱ μὲν πρὸς βορέην, οἱ δ' ἐς νότον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ῥιπὴν
εὖρου καὶ ζεφύροιο· τίς ἂν πάντ' οὐνόματ' εἴποι;
οὐ μὲν ἐπωνυμίην μίαν ἔλλαχεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκάστη
οὔνομ' ἔχει στροφάλιγγι· τὰ δ' ἂν κείνοισι μέλοιτο
ἀνδράσιν, οἳ κατὰ χῶρον ὁμούριον οἶκον ἔθεντο.

It is tempting to think that D. also had the same passage in mind both here and at 679 (τόσσοι μὲν Τάναιν ποταμὸν περιναιετάουσιν), compressing a substantial Hesiodic passage into a formulaic transition-sentence.

331-3 The scholiast and Eustathius assume that D. is here referring back to the three-sided image of Europe drawn at 269ff., but his identification of Iberia, Greece and Italy as the constituent parts of his τρισσὴ κρηπὶς makes it clear that D. is here describing the southern portion of Europe and not outlining the continent as a whole, as he was above.

The division of southern Europe into three peninsulas can be found in Eratosthenes who, however, included among the peoples of the easternmost peninsula those who lived as far east as the Tanais, so it seems (*Fr.* III B 97 Berger = Strabo 2, 4, 8. Cf. Mela 1, 3). Strabo tells us that Polybius made a fourth peninsula of the Thracian Chersonese and a fifth of the Cimmerian, adding that he himself considered that each of these peninsulas, except Iberia, lent themselves to further division.

It is worth noting that the sequence in which D. here refers to the three peninsulas (Iberia, Greece, Italy) differs from the sequence of his

description of those peninsulas (Iberia, Italy, Greece), and Italy is highlighted as the climax in a rising tricolon.

331 φράζεο : = 130, 762, 894, 1080, 1128. The clausula is Homeric (see *Il.* 17, 144 etc.), but cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 75 etc. for the repeated use of an imperative of the same metrical value in the same *sedes*, σκέπτεο, to introduce new material.

331-2 λοιπὸν πόρον, ὅστ' ἐπὶ τρισσὴν / ἐκτέταται κρηπίδα : cf. D.'s description of the Black Sea (Euxine) at 161f.: σκαιὸς πόρος, ὅστ' ἐπὶ δισσὴν / εἰλεῖται στροφάλιγγα.

332 κρηπίδα : this was the term for a Macedonian boot or shoe (see Theoc., *Id.* 15, 6 and Gow *ad loc.*), but it was also used generally of any type of base, physical (see, e.g., Hdt. 1, 93, σῆμα τοῦ ἢ κρηπίς) or metaphorical (see, e.g., Xen., *Mem.* 1, 5, 4, ἀρετῆς κρηπίδα), and similarly any type of projection (see, e.g., Polybius 5, 37, 8, ἐν τῷ λιμένι παρὰ τὴν κρηπίδα), like the Latin derivative *crepido* (see Virgil, *Aen.* 10, 653, *crepidine saxi*, and Harrison *ad loc.*).

333 Πανελλήνων : precisely whom this term denoted originally and at subsequent stages through history has been the subject of some debate. Homer refers only once to Πανέλληνες, at *Il.* 2, 530:

ἐγχείηι δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς

The problem of interpreting Πανέλληνας here has been seen since antiquity as reason for rejecting the line (see the scholia *ad loc.* and Eustathius p. 276f. van der Valk. See also G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, I (Cambridge, 1985), p. 202). Those who accept the line

as Homeric have taken Πανέλληνας as a reference to the inhabitants of middle and northern Greece, as distinct from the Peloponnesians (see M. L. West, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978), p. 292. Cf. S. R. West, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, I (Oxford, 1988), p. 119, on *Od.* 1, 344 etc.: καθ' Ἑλλάς καὶ μέσον Ἄργος).¹⁵⁴

Outside of the Homeric poems the earliest evidence of the use of Πανέλληνες to denote the Greeks as a nation is found at Hesiod, *Op.* 528 and *Fr.* 130 Merkelbach-West, and Archilochus, *Fr.* 34 Diehl.¹⁵⁵

The term came to have a more specific meaning centuries later when it constituted an abbreviated title for the members of the union formed between the Achaean league and the federation of Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians and Euboeans. The evidence for this is provided by two inscriptions from Acraephia in Boeotia, dating from the middle of the first century A.D. (*I. G.* 7, 2711 and 2712), in which the members of the union are referred to in short form as either Ἀχαιοί, Ἕλληνες, Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Πανέλληνες or, most often, simply Πανέλληνες.¹⁵⁶

Under Hadrian, however, the term came to be used for the members of another league. In a letter addressed by Hadrian to the Delphic Amphictyony in A.D. 125 the emperor proposed the

¹⁵⁴For Hellenes as distinct from Peloponnesians elsewhere see Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70, F20: τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους Ἕλληνας, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Πελοποννησίους ἀποκαλοῦντες. Similarly for Hellas as distinct from the Peloponnese see Demosthenes 19, 303: τίς ὁ συσκευάζεσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Πελοπόννησου Φίλιππον βοῶν.

J. B. Bury argues that Ἕλληνες and Πανέλληνες were never used specifically of the inhabitants of the northern Greeks, but that rather the term Ἕλληνες, from its restricted use of the inhabitants of southwestern Thessaly, came to indicate the inhabitants of the northern coast of the Peloponnese when the Hellenes and Achaeans migrated southward due to the invasion of their territories from the north, and thence to be used of the Greeks as a nation ('The History of the Names Hellas, Hellenes', *JHS* 15 (1895), pp. 217ff.).

¹⁵⁵Later in Ap. Rhod. the Argonauts are called Πανελλήνων προφερέστατοι (2, 209) and Ἑλλάς seems to mean 'Greece' (see Campbell on Ap. Rhod. 3, 13 and 347).

¹⁵⁶At *Syll.*³ 796A the league-members are also referred to as Παναχαιοί.

For a full discussion of *IG* 7, 2711 & 2712 see J. H. Oliver, 'Epaminondas of Acraephia', *GRBS* 12 (1971), pp. 221ff.

On the league of Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians and Euboeans see J. H. Oliver, 'Panachaeans and Panhellenes', *Hesperia* 47 (1978), pp. 185ff.

redistribution of votes among the members of the league, suggesting that they should be shared out more fairly among the various cities, in order that the Amphictyony might be a common council of all the Greeks (ἵνα ἡ κοινὸν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ συνέδριον).¹⁵⁷ The dedication of a χαριστήριον, found at Delphi and dating from the same year, seems also to indicate that Delphi was at this time seen by Hadrian as a centre for the celebration of panhellenic solidarity.¹⁵⁸ The dedication was made by the Hellenic council of Plataea which every four years celebrated the Eleutheria, games held in honour of Zeus Eleutherios (but also connected with Apollo and Delphi. See Plutarch, *Arist.* 20). It therefore provides evidence not only of the importance of Delphi to Hadrian in his role as patron of panhellenic concord, but also of the emperor's support for the council of Plataea, itself a body which celebrated Greek solidarity, having been formed to commemorate the victory of the united Hellenes against the Persians in 479 B.C. (Plutarch, *Arist.* 19 and 21. Cf. *I. G.* 5.1, 452 and 7, 2510 for dedications to Zeus Eleutherios and to the *homonoia* of the Greeks combined).

Neither the Delphic Amphictyony nor the council of Plataea, however, included delegates from Greek cities outside mainland Greece, and it was not until A.D. 131/2 that there was established a body which might have been said to be panhellenic in this sense.¹⁵⁹ It was then that Hadrian visited Athens, presiding over the dedication of the temple to Zeus Olympios there and, according to Dio (69, 16, 1-2), allowing the Greeks to build a shrine to him, τὸ Πανελλήνιον, in

¹⁵⁷J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri* (Philadelphia, 1989), pp. 183ff., no. 75.

¹⁵⁸*Syll.*³ 835A: Αὐτοκράτορι Ἀδριανῷ σωτῆρι, ῥυσαμένῳ καὶ θρέψαντι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Ἑλλάδα, οἱ εἰς Πλαταιᾶς συνιόντες Ἑλληνες χαριστήριον ἀνέθηκεν.

¹⁵⁹On the date of the foundation of the Panhellenic League see J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius: Aspects of Civil and Cultural Policy in the East = Hesperia* suppl. 13 (1970), pp. 132f., where it is also shown that the league was probably not active until A.D. 133.

connection with which he instituted the annual games known as τὰ Πανελλήνια.¹⁶⁰ Responsible for the shrine and the associated cult of Hadrian Panhellenios, as well as for the annual games were οἱ Πανέλληνες, delegates from various cities of the Greek-speaking world, scattered largely, it seems, around Greece and Asia Minor.¹⁶¹ Certain cities, such as Athens and Sparta, were presumably founder-members of this Panhellenic league, while others, inscriptions indicate, were admitted on the basis of their ability to lay claim to Greek ancestry and good relations with Rome.¹⁶²

It is interesting, then, that D. chose to use the term Πανέλληνες to refer to the inhabitants of mainland Greece in particular at a time when Hadrian seems to have been promoting panhellenism on a larger scale, eventually establishing a league which incorporated Greek cities from three continents.

If it is assumed that the *Periegesis* was composed before the foundation of the Panhellenion in Athens, D.'s reference to Πανέλληνες might be argued to allude to Hadrian's attempts to encourage Greek solidarity. As noted above, the emperor had already in A.D. 125 expressed his desire that the Delphic Amphictyony should

¹⁶⁰Pausanias states that Hadrian gave the Athenians a temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios (1, 18, 9), which has led to conflicting theories as to the nature of the Panhellenion. M. N. Tod assumes that one temple was shared between Zeus Panhellenios and the emperor ('Greek Inscriptions from Macedonia' *JHS* 42 (1922), p. 176), yet P. Graindor argues that this could not have been the case on the grounds that Dio asserts unequivocally that the temple was dedicated to Hadrian (*Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), p. 170). However, J. Beaujeu claims that the most plausible way of reconciling the evidence of Dio and Pausanias is indeed to suppose that the Panhellenion was dedicated to Zeus and shared by the emperor, *op. cit.* (above n. 92), p. 179ff. Most recently C. P. Jones has argued convincingly that the Panhellenion was, as Dio so clearly states, a shrine dedicated by the Greeks to Hadrian, and that it should be distinguished from the separate temple to Zeus Panhellenios mentioned by Pausanias ('The Panhellenion' *Chiron* 26 (1996), pp. 32f.). This argument is based on numerous inscriptions which refer to the Panhellenion as a body devoted to the worship of Hadrian but not of Zeus (see Oliver (1970), nos. 6, 13, 14, 19, 28, 30, 35, 39, 49 & 50).

¹⁶¹For a list of known member-cities see A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The World of the Panhellenion I' *JRS* 75 (1985), pp. 70ff., but note also the amendments to this list made by Jones *op. cit.* (above n. 160) pp. 34ff.

¹⁶²See the dedication by the Phrygian city of Cibyra, *OGIS* 497 = Oliver 1970, *op. cit.* (above n. 159), p. 95, no. 6, and the decree of the Panhellenes concerning Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, *OGIS* 503 = Oliver 1970, *op. cit.* (above n. 159), p. 94, no. 5.

be a council of 'all the Greeks', and Delphi appears to have been recognised as a focal point for the celebration of panhellenism at this time. In light of this it is worth noting that D. gives Delphi a position of some significance in the poem, concluding his description of Greece, and indeed Europe as a whole, with six lines devoted to the site he calls by its ancient name of Pytho (441-6). By way of contrast his description of Attica occupies only three lines (423-5). However, given the absence of contemporary references in the poem it seems likely that Delphi's prominence in the *Periegesis* has more to do with the fact that it was traditionally held by the Greeks to be the physical centre of the geographical world than that it seems to have later been promoted by Hadrian as ideological centre of a panhellenic world.

Similarly, D.'s use of the term Πανέλληνες of the inhabitants of mainland Greece seems to be a further example of the largely archaizing and essentially literary nature of the *Periegesis*.

αὐτῶν : Tsavari adopts the reading supplied by the earliest extant MS but the v. l. ἐσθλῶν seems to offer better sense here.

334-8 D. described the extent and shape of Iberia at 281-7. Here he provides a vague sketch of its internal lay-out, progressing northwards from the Pillar (cf. 64ff.) to the Pyrenees (cf. 288).

335-6 ἄκρη Ἀλύβη : according to the scholia on D. 64 Charax of Pergamum¹⁶³ held that Ἀλύβη was the Greek name for the European Pillar of Heracles, otherwise known as Κάλπη (= Müller *FHG* III, p. 640, F16). The name of Κάλπη, however, is used elsewhere almost

¹⁶³The author of a work in 40 books, apparently entitled Ἑλληνικαὶ καὶ Ἰταλικάι Ἱστορίαι, who seems to have been active in the middle of the second century A.D., see O. Andrei, *A. Claudius Charax di Pergamo: interessi antiquari e antichità cittadine nell'età degli Antonini* (Bologna, 1984), pp. 9ff.

without exception,¹⁶⁴ and Avienus claims that it is of Greek derivation itself (*Ora Mar.* 348ff.).

The scholia *ad loc.* give 'Αλύβη and 'Αβύλη as alternative names for the same Pillar. However, the scholiast may have here confused the European Pillar with the African Pillar, which is named 'Αβίλη by Ptolemy¹⁶⁵ and Strabo¹⁶⁶, who also refers to it as 'Αβίλυξ¹⁶⁷, Abyla by Pliny¹⁶⁸, Abila by Mela¹⁶⁹ and Avienus,¹⁷⁰ and *Αβιννα by Philostratus,¹⁷¹ Tzetzes¹⁷² and Charax, who apparently noted that it was also known among the Greeks as Κυνηγετική (*loc. cit.*).

In referring to the European Pillar by the name 'Αλύβη D. may be alluding to Homer, *Il.* 2, 856f.:

Αὐτὰρ 'Αλιζώνων 'Οδῖος καὶ 'Επίστροφος ἦρχον
τηλόθεν ἐξ 'Αλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

Strabo discusses these lines and also various attempts to identify the site and the people mentioned in them (12, 3, 20ff.). He rejects certain of these identifications on the grounds that they depend on alteration of the text or do not fit with the descriptions implicit in the words τηλόθεν and ἀργύρου γενέθλη. He himself identifies the Alizones with the Chalybes, who were renowned in antiquity for mining and working in iron (see, e.g., Aeschylus, *P.* V. 714f.; Ap. Rhod. 2, 375 and 1002ff. Cf. 768ff. below). Locating them inland of Cerasus and Trapezus on the southeastern coast of the Black Sea, he asserts that

¹⁶⁴Ioannes Tzetzes is the only other extant author to refer to one of the Pillars of Heracles, presumably the European Pillar, by the name of 'Αλύβη (*Hist.* 2, 33).

¹⁶⁵Ptolemy 4, 1, 3.

¹⁶⁶Strabo 17, 3, 5.

¹⁶⁷Strabo 3, 5, 5.

¹⁶⁸*N.H.* 3, 1.

¹⁶⁹Mela 1, 5 & 2, 6.

¹⁷⁰*Ora Mar.* 345.

¹⁷¹*Vit. Ap.* 5, 1.

¹⁷²*Hist.* 2, 339.

their territory was not only rich in iron but also, at least at one time, in silver (12, 3, 19).¹⁷³ Most ancient authorities locate the Chalybes in the same general area (see, e.g., Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1 F203; Hdt. 1, 28; Xen., *Anab.* 4, 5, 34f. and 5, 5, 1), although some place them in Scythia (see Aeschylus, *loc. cit.*; Hesychius, s.v. Χάλυβοι; schol. *ad Ap. Rhod.* 1, 321 and 2, 375). No others, however, directly connect the Chalybes with silver-mining.¹⁷⁴

It is because Homer describes Alybe as a source of silver that modern commentators have identified the Alizones with the Hittites of Palestine, who are believed to have been suppliers of silver to the Greeks in antiquity (see Kirk, *op. cit.* (above on 333), p. 259, and T. W. Allen, 'The Homeric Catalogue' *JHS* 30 (1910), pp. 315ff.). D., however, may have identified the inhabitants of the Homeric Alybe with the main suppliers of silver to the Roman world, the Iberians.¹⁷⁵ The Iberian peninsula was widely renowned for offering a rich supply of metals, particularly silver (see Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 3; Strabo 3, 2, 8 and below on l. 337). At the same time there was situated to the east of the Black Sea, between this and the Caspian Sea, another region by the name of Iberia (Ptolemy 5, 10; Strabo 11, 2, 19ff. Cf. D. 768ff.). According to Strabo one of the rivers of this region was known as the Alazonios (11, 3, 2), and it seems possible that certain ancient authorities might have connected the Iberians of the Caucasus, neighbours of the Chalybes, with the Homeric Alizones. No extant source mentions silver-mining in connection with these Iberians, but it

¹⁷³According to Leaf there were once silver-mines located near Tripolis, a town situated on the coast between Cerasus and Trapezus (W. Leaf, *Troy* (London, 1912), pp. 290f.). Arrian mentions a site immediately to the East of Tripolis, which he calls τὰ Ἀργύρια, perhaps also suggesting that there were indeed silver-mines in this area (*Periplus* 24).

¹⁷⁴See G. Camassa on Strabo's identification of Alybe, and Alybe / Chalybe as a term signalling mineral wealth and the presence of mines in the regions of the Pontus, Magna Graecia, Iberia, and Thrace ("Dov' è la fonte dell' argento." Strabone, Alybe e i Chalybes', in F. Prontera (ed.), *Strabone: contributi allo studio della personalità e dell' opera* (Perugia, 1984), pp. 155ff.).

¹⁷⁵See C. Domergue, *Les Mines de la Péninsule Ibérique dans l'Antiquité Romaine* (Rome, 1990), pp. 8f.

is nevertheless worth noting Strabo's statement that they may have received their name from the fact that their territory, like the Iberian peninsula, was mined for gold: εἰ μὴ καὶ Ἰβηρας ὁμωνύμως τοῖς ἐσπερίοις καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκατέρωθι χρυσείων (11, 2, 19).

Whether or not the Homeric Alybe was ever identified with the Iberia of the Caucasus, it is possible that D. connected it with one of the Pillars of Heracles because both sites were associated with silver. He proceeds immediately from Alybe to Tartesos, a site which seems to have been especially renowned for its silver-mines (see below on 337), suggesting that he did indeed have in mind here the Homeric passage. However, he may have simply intended to allude to the problem of the identification of Alybe and the Alizones, just as he seems to refer to similar Homeric problems at 179f.

(Αἰθιοπῆων/τῶν ἐτέρων), 308 (φυλὸν Ἀγαυῶν), 333
(Πανελλήνων) etc.

337 Ταρτησός : the earliest extant reference to Tartesos is provided by Stesichorus (*P.M.G.* I, F184 = Strabo 3, 2, 11):

Ταρτησ-
σοῦ ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγὰς ἀπείρονας ἀρ-
γυρορίζου,
ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτρας

Stesichorus clearly understood it to be the name of a river, and Strabo tells us that it was in fact thought to have been a former appellation of the Baetis, now the Guadalquivir, which joins the sea a little to the north of Cadiz.¹⁷⁶ He adds that the same name was given to a city which stood between the two mouths of this river, and that the region

¹⁷⁶Strabo 3, 2, 11. See also Strabo 3, 2, 1, and Aristotle, *Meteor.* 1, 13.

as a whole was known as Tartessis.¹⁷⁷ Eratosthenes names the region abutting Calpe Tartessis,¹⁷⁸ and D. himself appears here to be calling the same region Tartesos.¹⁷⁹ He could possibly be describing a town but πῆδον is used by D. almost without exception to refer to an area of land as opposed to a town or city (cf. 97, 227, 357 etc.). Only at 441 is it used more specifically of Delphi, and D. may be alluding there to Aesch., *Choeph.* 1036.

Although there was clearly some confusion over the exact identification of Tartesos, it was consistently regarded as a site of great mineral wealth. Silver in particular was associated with Tartesus and the Tartesians. Stesichorus described the river Tartessos as silver-rooted, and similarly others located its sources in Silver Mountain.¹⁸⁰ A king of Tartesos was apparently named Ἀργανθώνιος,¹⁸¹ and the silver-mines of southern Iberia as a whole are frequently cited (see, e.g., Polybius 10, 10, 11 and 38, 7; Strabo 3, 2, 11; Livy 28, 3, 2 and 34, 21, 7; Cato, *Fr.* 93 (Peter) = Aulus Gellius 2, 22, 9).¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ See similarly Pausanias 6, 19, 3. For Tartesos as both a river and a city see pseudo-Scymnus 162ff.; Avienus, *Ora Mar.* 283ff.; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ταρτησσός.

The area between the mouths of the Baetis (Guadalquivir) has been identified by certain commentators with the island of Cartare mentioned by Avienus at *Ora Mar.* 255 (see A. Schulten, *Fontes Hispania Antiquae* I¹ (Berlin, 1922), p. 93; J. Ribeiro Ferreira, *Ora Maritima* (Coimbra, 1985), p. 51), and it is possible that the names Cartare and Tartesus share the same root. Others, however, place Cartare between the Guadalquivir and Guadalete to the South (see A. Padilla in J. Mangas and D. Plácido (edd.), *Testimonia Hispaniae Antiqua* I (Madrid, 1994), p. 85) or to the Northwest in the region of the river Tinto (see A. Berthelot, *Festus Avienus: Ora Maritima* (Paris, 1934), p. 78; P. Bosch Gimpera, *Two Celtic Waves in Spain* = *PBA* 26 (1941), p. 74).

Certain ancient authors identified the city of Tartesos with Cadiz itself (Pliny, *N. H.* 4, 22; Avienus, *Descriptio Orbis* 610ff. & *Ora Mar.* 265ff.). Others attributed the name to a town known also as Carteia (Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 1; Mela 2, 6), Carpe(i)a (Strabo 3, 2, 14; Pausanias 6, 19, 3.), or Carpeusus (Appian, *Ib.* 2 & 63), and situated beside Calpe, the northern Pillar of Heracles (see above on 335-6), with which it was sometimes apparently assimilated (*Itin. Anton.* 406, 3; Strabo 3, 1, 7; Nik. Dam., *FGrHist* 90 F127, 23).

¹⁷⁸ Eratosthenes F. 3B 122= Strabo 3, 2, 11. Cf. Apollod. 2, 5, 10 for Tartessos as the site where Heracles erected the Pillars.

¹⁷⁹ He could possibly be describing a town but πῆδον is used by D. almost without exception to refer to an area of land as opposed to a town or city (cf. ll. 97, 227, 357 etc.). Only at l. 441 is it used more specifically of Delphi, and D. may be alluding there to Aesch., *Choeph.* 1036 (see below).

¹⁸⁰ Strabo 3, 2, 11; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ταρτησσός. See also Avienus, *Ora Mar.* 291ff.

¹⁸¹ Hdt. 1, 163.

¹⁸² The sources reveal that these mines were exploited by the Romans but archaeological evidence shows that they date back further, to the eighth or seventh century B.C. See G. D. B. Jones, 'The

ῥυηφενέων : this adjective is first attested at Callim., *Ant. Pap.* 113, *Fr.* 1 (b).¹⁸³ Later usage is rare but see also Nonnus, *Dion.* 8, 290 and Paul. Silent., *Ecphr. Ecc.* 1, 92.

The noun ῥυηφενίη similarly seems to have been coined by Callim. (see *Hymn* 1, 84), possibly in imitation of Homer's ῥυδὸν ἄφνειοιο (*Od.* 15, 426). It has been suggested that Callim. may also have intended to indicate that he, like Rhianus and Aristophanes, favoured the reading εὐηφενής to that of εὐηγενής at *Il.* 23, 81 (see the scholia *ad loc.*).¹⁸⁴

338 Κεμψοί : the only other surviving references to this tribe are by Avienus, who, nevertheless, gives a more detailed description than D. of their location. In the *Ora Maritima* he tells us that they inhabited Ophiussa (195f.), bordering on the Cynetes (200f.) and Ileates (301f.), and that they had once also occupied Cartare (255ff.).¹⁸⁵

Ophiussa is commonly identified as western and northwestern Iberia¹⁸⁶, although Avienus' description of the region at 90ff. is vague and it could possibly be interpreted as referring to the west coast of France.¹⁸⁷ The Cynetes, however, are mentioned by Hdt. (2, 33 and 4, 49), who locates them in the extreme southwest of Iberia, immediately to the west, he claims, of certain Celtic tribes.¹⁸⁸ These Celts have

Roman Mines at Rio Tinto', *J.R.S.* 70 (1980), p. 152, and A. Blanco and J. M. Luzón, 'Pre-Roman Silver-Mines at Rio Tinto', *Antiquity* 43 (1969), pp. 124ff.

On the Phoenicians and Tartessos see M. E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, colonies and trade* (English tr.: Cambridge, 1993) and J.M. Blasquez, *Tartessos y los orígenes de la colonización fenicia in Occidente* (Salamanca, 1975).

¹⁸³For an understanding of the context see A.W. Bulloch, 'A New Interpretation of a Fragment of Callimachus' *Aetia*', *C.Q.* 20 (1970), pp. 269ff.

¹⁸⁴See G. R. MacLennan, *Callimachus: Hymn to Zeus* (Rome, 1977), pp. 120f.

¹⁸⁵On the identification of Cartare with Tartessos and various sections of the southwestern coast of Iberia see above on l. 337.

¹⁸⁶See Berthelot, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), pp. 65f.; A. Schulten, *Tartessos: Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte des Westens* (Hamburg, 1922), p. 28 & *R.E.* 17.2, coll. 2287f.; J. Alvar in Mangas & Plácido, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), p. 56.

¹⁸⁷See Alvar in Mangas & Plácido, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), pp. 55f.

¹⁸⁸Ptolemy similarly places Celtic peoples inland of the Sacred Promontory (2, 5, 5).

been widely held to include the Cempsí,¹⁸⁹ although some have argued that the Cempsí were not Celts, identifying them as either Ligurians¹⁹⁰ or Germans.¹⁹¹

According to Berthelot,¹⁹² Avienus' statement that the Cempsí were once inhabitants of Cartare is in fact inconsistent with their identification as Celts. He argues that, were they a Celtic tribe, Cartare would not have been their place of origin, but rather would be the furthest point reached by them in their advance southward from Celtica. Avienus, however, does not claim that the Cempsí originated in Cartare, only that they occupied it at one time, and Bosch Gimpera asserts that this was indeed the furthest point reached by the Celts advancing from the north.¹⁹³ If the Cempsí were among these advancing Celts, this might go some way toward explaining why D. connects them with the Pyrenees, apparently situating them throughout Iberia, from Tartesos in the south to the far northeast.

Despite Berthelot's reluctance to identify them as Celts, he interprets Avienus as similarly locating the Cempsí throughout the vast tract of land which lies between the mouth of the river Sado in the southwest and the Pyrenees in the northeast. Most commentators, however, limit the territory of the Cempsí to the lands immediately to the north and east of the Algarve.¹⁹⁴ Clearly, without a proper understanding of Avienus' description of Ophiussa it is impossible to

¹⁸⁹See Bosch Gimpera, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), pp. 70ff.; Schulten, *F.H.A.* I¹ (Berlin, 1922), pp. 87f.; S. Lambrino, 'Les Celtes dans la péninsule ibérique selon Avienus', *BEP* 19 (1956), pp. 10ff.; A.B. Lloyd, *op. cit.* (above n. 76), p. 141.

¹⁹⁰A. Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde* II (1976), pp. 195f.

¹⁹¹M. Schönfeld and L. Pericot in Lambrino, *op. cit.* (above n. 189), pp. 19f. Schulten also later suggested that the Cempsí might be connected with a German tribe mentioned by Strabo (7, 1, 3f.), the Campsianoí (*F.H.A.* I² (1955), p. 104).

¹⁹²Berthelot, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), p. 65.

¹⁹³Bosch Gimpera, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), pp. 74f.

¹⁹⁴See Bosch Gimpera, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), pp. 75 & 93; Schulten 1922, *op. cit.* (above n. 189), pp. 87f.; A. M. Suárez in Mangas and Plácido, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), p. 73. Cf. Lambrino, *op. cit.* (above n. 189), p. 17, however, who makes the Cempsí the inhabitants of the whole of central Iberia.

judge whether or not he and D. referred to the same source for their information on this tribe.

The Ileates are otherwise unattested, and Avienus' description of their territory as lying between that of the Cempsî and that of the Etmaneos, whom he places inland of Cadiz (298ff.), gives no further indication of how far toward the north he considered the Cempsî to have extended. It is perhaps worth noting the possibility, nevertheless, that the Ileates might be identifiable with the Gletes or Igletes,¹⁹⁵ whom ancient sources place on the banks of the river Iberus (Asclep. of Myrlea *FGrHist* 607, F8 = Strabo 3, 4, 19), and beside the Cynetes and Tartessians (Herodorus *FGrHist* 31 F2c = Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἰβηρίαι. Cf. Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F201 = Steph. Byz., s.v. Τληῖτες).

339-82 Italy is the central peninsula of the three which, according to D., make up southern Europe, and the description of this peninsula, and moreover that of Rome within it, stands in the centre of D.'s account of Europe as a whole (see above on 269ff.). D. opens his description of Italy by emphasising its centrality and focusing attention on what he describes as its own geographical centre, the Apennine mountains (339-44). The central position and precisely rectilinear form which D. gives these mountains helps to create a sense of the diagrammatical symmetry which he ascribes to the form of southern Europe. While the Apennines were by this time commonly held to extend throughout Italy, from the Alps to the Straits of Messina (see, e.g., Polybius 2, 6, 1ff.; Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 5; Strabo 2, 5, 28), the notion that they were entirely straight is found in D. alone. Polybius, who provides the earliest account of these mountains and

¹⁹⁵See Schulten 1922, *op. cit.* (above n. 189), p. 97; A. Padilla in Mangas and Plácido, *op. cit.* (above n. 177), p. 96.

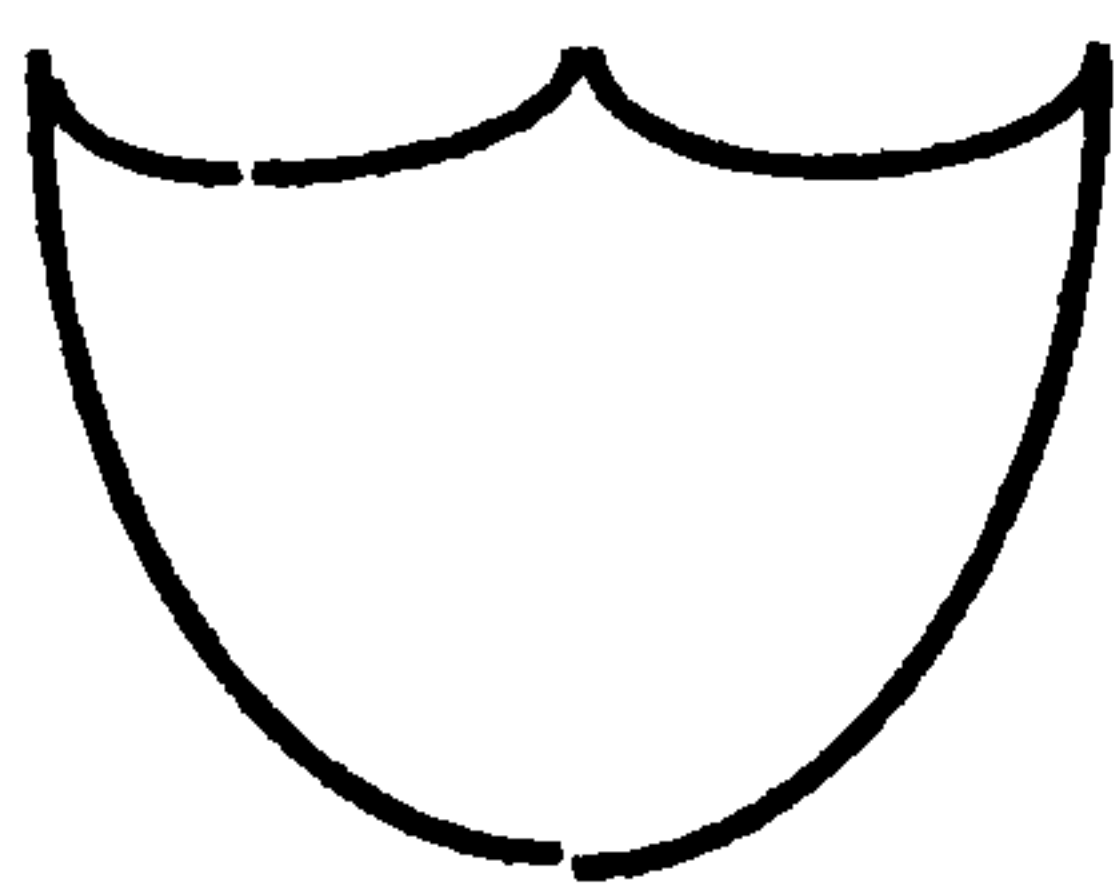
may indeed have been the first to apply the name Ἀπεννίνον to their entire length,¹⁹⁶ describes them as stretching eastward from the Alps above Massilia as far as Umbria, before turning south towards Sicily (2, 16, 1ff.). Strabo and Ptolemy similarly describe them as reaching from the northwest of Italy east to Ancona, then following the line of the Adriatic coast, before turning finally to the southwest and the Straits of Messina (Strabo 5, 1, 3; Ptolemy 3, 1, 40).

It is somewhat surprising that D. does not give any outline of the overall shape of Italy, as he does for Libya (174ff) and Iberia (282ff.), for example. This is perhaps due to the fact that Strabo, upon whom D. may have depended for his outline sketches of Libya and Iberia, criticises those who describe Italy as triangular (see esp. Polybius 2, 14), arguing that the peninsula might possibly be compared to a four-sided figure, but that it would be best to admit that it did not correspond to any geometric figure whatever (5, 1, 2).¹⁹⁷

Within the description of Italy there is a certain imbalance in that D. gives most weight to the Greek foundations of the south and the southwest of the peninsula.¹⁹⁸ Indeed only the last five lines are given to the Adriatic coast. At the same time the geographical order of D.'s description of southern Italy is somewhat confused. After making his way down the western side of the Apennines as far as Locri (365), he

¹⁹⁶See Walbank on Polybius 2, 14, 10.

¹⁹⁷Cf. Pliny who likens the peninsula to an oak-leaf ending, in the south, in the shape of an Amazon's shield (*N. H.* 3, 5). The shields of the Amazons are described by Virgil as crescent-shaped (*lunatae*, *Aen.* 1, 490) and are generally depicted thus, with twin curves joining the two horns on the inside:



See, e.g., Brit. Mus. Lamps, No. 659 in H. B. Walters, *British Museum Lamps* (London, 1916).

¹⁹⁸D. does not use the term ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς and definitions as to what area was covered by this term varied. E.g., Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F12) and Pliny (*N.H.* 3, 10) make it cover only the area extending between Locri and Tarentum; Servius (*ad. Aen.* 1, 569) applies it to the region between Cumae and Tarentum; and Strabo (6, 1, 2) includes Sicily under the same name.

proceeds first to Metapontum (368), then backtracks south to Croton (369ff.), and then goes back again along the coast to Sybaris (374ff.). From there he looks inland to the central Apennines and the Samnites and Marsi (375f.) before turning again to the southern coast, to Tarentum and the rest of Calabria (376ff.). He then comes to the Apulian town of Hyrion (379ff.), from which point he jumps to the extreme northeast of Italy, to Aquilea and Tergeste (381f.). See below on 368 and 375ff. for possible reasons for the structure and balance of D.'s description of Italy.

339 παραπέπταται : cf. esp. 98f. (Αύσονίων παραπέπταται ἄπλετος ἰσθμός,/ πουλυτενής); also 146 (Πόντος); 820 (ἦθεα); and 1107 (αἶα). The same part of this otherwise rare verb appears at Aratus 312 (παραπέπταται Ὀρνις). For D.'s use of 'Aratean' vocabulary see above on 176, 204, 298, 299, 328 *et al.*

ἄκρη : αἶα was evidently the reading known to Avienus (= *gleba*) and Priscian (= *tellus*). Cf. the similar wording at, e.g., Lycophron 1404 (Φλεγρὰς αἶα); Nicander, *Alex.* 271 (Καστανὶς . . . αἶα); A. P. 7, 81, 5 (Antipater of Sidon: Κεκροπὶς αἶα) and 354, 3 (Gaetulicus: Σισυφὶς αἶα). The variant ἄκρη may have been mistakenly transcribed from 335 where it occupies the same *sedes* and describes one of the Pillars of Heracles, which seems to weigh against its use here, just four lines later, of the Italian peninsula.

340 πουλυτενής : D. uses the same word to describe Italy at 99. The adjective appears to have been coined by D. although compounds with -τενής are not uncommon. See, e.g., ἄλιτενής at Diod. Sic. 3, 44; Strabo 7, 3, 19 etc., and ἰθυτενής at Ptolemy 1, 2, 4; A. P. 6, 65 (Paul. Silent.) and A. P. 6, 103 (Philippus), where interestingly the adjective

describes a carpenter's στάθμη (see below on 341). It is perhaps worth noting that Nonnus uses various such compounds, often in the same *sedes*, possibly in imitation of D. See, e.g., *Dion.* 2, 165 (ὑψιτενής); 7, 310 (ἄκροτενής); and 21, 328 (εὐρυτενής).

For further compounds with πουλυ- see, e.g., πουλυμερής at *A. P.* 7, 383.7 (Philippus), and πουλυετής at *A. P.* 7, 417, 4 (Meleager).

ὄρος ἄνδιχα τέμνει : the same words describe the Taurus range in relation to Asia at 890.

341-2 D.'s description of the rectilinearity of the Apennines cleverly combines allusions to Homeric and Hellenistic poetry. The description is partly based upon the simile at Homer, *Il.* 15, 410ff., which immediately follows Patroclus' decision to urge Achilles to fight and describes the even, and therefore taut, nature of the battle between the Greeks and Trojans at this point, by evoking the string (στάθμη) used in ship-building to mark a straight line (see below):

ἄλλ' ὥς τε στάθμη δόρυ νήϊον ἐξιθύνει
τέκτονος ἐν παλάμησι δαήμονος, ὅς ρά τε πάσης
εὖ εἰδῆι σοφίης ὑποθημοσύνησιν Ἀθήνης,
ὥς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ἴσα μάχη τέτατο πτόλεμος τε.

Ap. Rhod. seems to have had in mind this same simile at *Arg.* 1, 18f. where he refers to the building of the Argo by Argos:

Ἄργον Ἀθηναίης καμέειν ὑποθημοσυνῆσιν.

However, whereas *Ap. Rhod.* redeploys the Homeric simile as narrative, D. borrows not only the vocabulary but also, more interestingly, the almost abstract perspective of the simile.

οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνο μωμήσαιτο ὑποεργὸς Ἀθήνης : for this figure cf. *Theoc., Id.* 9, 23f. where a similar phrase describes a shepherd's

staff which has taken shape naturally — which is αὐτοφυής — and yet τάν οὐδ' ἄν ἴσως μωμάσατο τέκτων. There, as here, it is as if nature is complimented on resembling art. The irony of such comparisons is highlighted by Ovid, see esp. *Met.* 3, 158-9: (*antrum*) *arte laboratum nulla: simulaverat artem / ingenio natura suo*; and 11, 235: *est specus in medio, natura factus an arte / ambiguum, magis arte tamen*.

341 στάθμης : Tsavari's emendation is clearly preferable to an otherwise unattested 'genitive of instrument' which the MSS reading entails.

The στάθμη was the coloured string used in carpentry to mark a straight line. The same term was used of the mark left by the string. See Eustathius on *Od.* 5, 245 (= p.1531, 62 van der Valk) for a detailed explanation.

342 ὑποεργὸς Ἀθήνης : see *Ap. Rhod.* 1, 226 for the same phrase. There as here the κοινή word ὑπουργός is ennobled by diaeresis. See similarly Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* 9.

343 ὃ ρά τε κικλήσκουσιν : see also 205 : ἦν ρά τε κικλήσκουσι.

*Ἀλπιος : for D.'s understanding of the Alps see above on 295.

344 λήγει : this must have been the reading known to Priscian, who translates *terminat*, and Avienus' paraphrase *iuga gurgite condit* fits better with this reading than with any other offered by the MSS. Moreover the ἄρχομαι/λήγω antithesis is found elsewhere, see esp. Homer, *Il.* 9, 97; Hdt. 4, 39; Theoc., *Id.* 1, 64ff.; Xen., *Vect.* 1, 4. The

variants τέμνει and τείνει may have resulted from some confusion between this verse and 340 above.

345 For similar statements of the ease or difficulty of handling an abundance of material see 619, 707, 881ff. and 1167ff. Such statements are familiar from Hymns and encomia. For the ease of treating a fertile subject see, e.g., Callim., *Hymn* 2, 31 (τίς ἄν οὐ ῥέα Φοῖβον ἀείδοι;), and for expressions of *aporia* at the same task see, e.g., Callim., *Hymn* 1, 92 (τεὰ δ' ἔργματα τίς κεν ἀείδοι; οὐ γένητ', οὐκ ἔσται), and *h. hom.* 3, 19 = 207 (πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὐμνον ἐόντα;).

πάντ' ἀγορεύσω : cf. *Od.* 3, 254 (=16, 61):

τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, τέκνον, ἀληθέα παντ' ἀγορεύσω.

346 = 727 (of the catalogue of peoples surrounding the Caspian Sea).

ἀρξάμενος : see above on 176.

ζεφυρίτιδος : see Callim., *Aetia*, *Fr.* 110, 57; *Ep.* 6, 1;

Posidippus 3110 and 3120 (P. Firmin-Didot) for Ζεφυριτῖς as a name by which Arsinoë II was worshipped.

347 Τυρσηνοί : see above on 294ff. for the area occupied by the Tyrrheni/Etruscans and also for D.'s omission of the Ligurians.

The origins of the Italian Tyrrheni, to which D. makes no reference, were somewhat disputed. According to some they were an indigenous people (see Dion. Hal. 1, 26 and 30). They were said by others to have originally come from Lydia under the leadership of Tyrrhenus, brother of Lydus and son of Atys (Hdt. 1, 94; Pliny, *N. H.*

3, 5; pseudo-Scymnus 220f.; Solinus 2, 7).¹⁹⁹ At the same time many appear to have identified them with the Pelasgians (see, e.g., Anticleides of Athens *FGrHist* 140 F21 = Strabo 5, 2, 4; Callim., *Fr.* 97; Soph. *Fr.* 270 Radt = Dion. Hal. 1, 25; Thuc. 4, 109). Jacoby traces this identification back to Hellanicus of Lesbos.²⁰⁰ According to the account of Hellanicus the Pelasgians were driven from Thessaly to Italy where they established themselves in the region which was to become known as Tyrrhenia / Etruria (Hellanicus of Lesbos *FGrHist* 4 F4 = Dion. Hal. 1, 28). According to others, however, the name ‘Pelasgians’ was attached to the Tyrrhenians as a result of their migration from Lydia westward, Πελασγοί being a corruption of Πελαργοί (storks), (Atthidographers *FGrHist* 329 F1 = Strabo 5, 2, 4; Myrsilus of Methymna *FGrHist* 477 F9 = Dion. Hal. 1, 28).

¹⁹⁹For Tyrrhenus as the son of Heracles by a Lydian nymph see Dion. Hal. 1, 28, and similarly as the son of the Mysian king Telephus (and grandson of Heracles) see Dion. Hal. *loc. cit.*; Lycophron 1242ff. and Tzetzes *ad loc.*

On the conflicting accounts of the origins of the Tyrrhenians, see D. Briquel, *L' Origine lydienne des Etrusques* (Rome, 1991).

²⁰⁰See on Philochorus 328 F99-101 = *FGrHist* IIIb (suppl.), vol. I, p. 412. Jacoby argues that Hellanicus first identified the Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians in an attempt to reconcile the reports of Hecataeus and Herodotus concerning the exiles from Athens on Lemnos. According to Herodotus the Athenians had exiled to Lemnos the Pelasgians who had once been responsible for the building of the Πελαργικόν (or Πελασγικόν), the wall around the acropolis (Hdt. 6, 137ff.). He offers two accounts of the events leading to their exile, one the Athenian account, and the other the account of Hecataeus. The Athenians, he says, claimed that the Pelasgians had maltreated them and even plotted to attack Athens. Hecataeus, on the other hand, related that the Athenians had expelled the Pelasgians because they were jealous of the lands which the Pelasgians had successfully cultivated around Hymettus. The account of Hecataeus, as recorded by Herodotus, makes no mention of Pelasgians on Lemnos, and Jacoby suggests that Herodotus conflated the tale of the expulsion of the Pelasgians from Athens with the story which he proceeds to tell of certain inhabitants of Lemnos, whom he identifies as Pelasgians, who had attacked Athenian women celebrating the festival of Artemis at Brauron (Jacoby, p. 410). Philochorus too tells of an attack on the Athenians at Brauron by inhabitants of Lemnos, who had previously been expelled from Athens, but while he names the attackers as Pelasgians in one place (F101), he makes them Tyrrhenians in another (F100). This suggests, argues Jacoby, that Philochorus consulted both Herodotus and Hecataeus, and what is more, that Hecataeus named the attackers from Lemnos ‘Tyrrhenians’. However, the association made between the Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians predates Philochorus (s. IV-III B.C.). Sophocles and Thucydides were using the two names in close connection with one another in the fifth century B.C. (*loc. cit.*), which indicates that they had already been linked by a renowned authority. For Jacoby this was Hellanicus. He suggests that Hellanicus was the first to make the Lydian Tyrrhenians unite with the Thessalian Pelasgians in Italy, adding: ‘Hellanicus did not completely identify the Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians in the strictest sense of the word, for the former became a comprehensive ethnical concept, the latter remained the name of a people’ (*FGrHist* IIIb (suppl.), vol. II, p. 314).

It is interesting to note that D., without identifying the Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians, does make them co-habitants of the same region (349),²⁰¹ unlike, for example, Dion. Hal. (1, 30), Pliny (*N. H.* 3, 5), or Strabo (5, 2, 3), who make the Tyrrhenians displace the Pelasgians. It has been suggested that D.'s portrayal of the Tyrrhenians, which also ignores the accounts of their origins in the East, is thereby favorable towards them by comparison with those of his predecessors.²⁰²

φῦλα Πελασγῶν : 'Pelasgian' is a term attached by Homer to Argos in northwest Greece (*Il.* 2, 681) and the Pelasgians seem to have been associated also with nearby Dodona and Epirus (*Il.* 16, 233; cf. Hesiod, *Fr.* 319 M.-W.). At the same time Homer names the Pelasgians among the peoples of the Troad (*Il.* 2, 840; 10, 429) and again among the peoples of Crete (*Od.* 19, 175ff.). The term 'Pelasgian' is later used of Peloponnesian Argos (Aesch. *Prom. Vinc.* 860; Eurip. *Or.* 960 and *Supp.* 368f.) and of the Peloponnese as a whole (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F113 = Strabo 5, 2, 4). According to Hdt. Πελασγίη was in fact the former name for 'Ελλάς (2, 56), that is to say that before the Hellenes of Phthiotis had expanded, incorporating the Pelasgians and other 'barbarian' peoples (1, 56ff.), all of what was then to become Hellas, except for Phthiotis itself, was known as Pelasgia.²⁰³ That the Pelasgians were the largest or most prominent of

²⁰¹D.'s description of the Pelasgians as situated both ἐπὶ (347) and οὖν (349) the Tyrrhenians is somewhat confusing. Dominique Briquel assumes that he divided Tyrrhenia / Etruria into two, situating the Tyrrhenians to the north and the Pelasgians to the south of the region (*Les Pélasges en Italie* [Rome, 1984], pp. 63ff.). This would indeed fit with the north-south progression of D.'s description. Such a division, Briquel points out, would also be consistent with the fact that the Pelasgians are only specifically associated with cities of southern Etruria. See, e.g., Strabo, who discusses the Pelasgians at the close of his description of Tyrrhenia / Etruria in connection with the Etruscan town of Caere, which, he tells us, was formerly the Pelasgian settlement of Agylla (5, 2, 3-4).

²⁰²See Briquel 1984, *op. cit.* (above n. 201), pp. 64ff.

²⁰³On the Pelasgian theory expounded by Herodotus at 1. 56ff. (and, specifically, the implicit contradiction between this and his treatment of the relationship between the Athenians and Pelasgians at 6, 137ff.) see F. Jacoby, *op. cit.* (above n. 200), pp. 413ff., who traces this theory back to Hecataeus.

a number of peoples who had once occupied Hellas is an idea found elsewhere (see Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F119 = Strabo 7, 7,1; Thuc. 1, 3, 2) and it seems, as Jacoby argues, that ‘Pelasgian’ was in fact used as a term for the pre-Hellenic population of Hellas.²⁰⁴

Despite the fact that the Pelasgians were thus associated with all Hellas, they appear to have been linked particularly with Thessaly and the Peloponnese. Hesiod provides the earliest extant reference to a Pelasgus, making him the father of the Arcadian king Lycaon:

υἱεῖς ἐξεγένοντο Λυκάονος ἀντιθέοιο

ὃν ποτε τίκτε Πελασγός (*Fr.* 161 M.-W.).

Similarly Pherecydes states: Πελασγοῦ καὶ Δηιανείρας γίνεται Λυκάων· οὗτος γαμεῖ Κυλλήνην νηίδα νύμφην, ἀφ’ ἧς τὸ ὄρος ἢ Κυλλήνη καλεῖται (*FGrHist* 3 F156). Acusilaus adds that the Pelasgians were named after this Pelasgus and identifies them as inhabitants of the Peloponnese: Πελασγός, ἀφ’ οὗ κληθῆναι τοὺς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκοῦντας Πελασγούς (*FGrHist* 2 F25). The belief that the Pelasgians originated in Arcadia, and from there spread in various directions, most notably towards the northwest and Dodona, is first expressed by Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F113 = Strabo 5, 2, 4). Jacoby, however, suggests that Hellanicus, who, like Hdt. (1, 57), describes the Pelasgians as settling in Italy after being expelled from Thessaly by the Hellenes (*FGrHist* 4 F4 = Dion. Hal. 1, 28), had himself already made these Thessalian Pelasgians immigrants from the Peloponnese.²⁰⁵ Dion. Hal. describes an early migration of people to Italy directly from the Peloponnese, stating that Lycaon’s sons, Oenotrus and Peucetius, led a number of their fellow countrymen from Arcadia, Peucetius and his followers settling on the east coast of

²⁰⁴Jacoby, *op. cit.* (above n. 200), p. 407. See similarly S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides I: Books I-III* (Oxford, 1991), p. 16.

²⁰⁵F. Jacoby, *FGr Hist* IIIb (suppl.), vol. II, p. 306.

the peninsula, to the north of the Iapygian promontory, and Oenotrus landing with the majority of emigrants on the shores opposite.²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, he distinguishes between the Pelasgians and the Oenotrians, asserting that the former succeeded the latter in migrating to Italy (1, 11ff.). He claims that the Pelasgians first emigrated from the Peloponnese to Thessaly but were expelled from here by the Curetes and Leleges and spread in different directions, some settling in Crete, some in the Cyclades, some on the Hellespont and nearby islands, and some in various parts of mainland Greece, particularly Dodona (1, 17ff.). It was from Dodona, he states, that a colony sailed to Italy, landing at Spina in the far north, where some settled while the remainder went inland and formed an alliance with the Aborigines (whom he argues to have descended from the Oenotrians at 1, 13).

Dion Hal. in fact identifies three waves of emigrants from Arcadia to Italy, the third arriving under the leadership of Evander and settling around the Palatine hill, which was apparently named after Παλλάντιον, the Arcadian town from which they came (1, 89; 2, 1). Unlike Dion. Hal., the scholiast and Eustathius, commenting on D. 347/8, state that the Palatine was named after Evander's son, Pallas, and, more importantly, identify Evander's followers as Pelasgians.²⁰⁷ Dominique Briquel, ignoring the evidence of the scholiast, has argued that Eustathius is the first to confuse two separate traditions surrounding the early settlers of Italy, the one involving Evander and his Arcadian followers, the other involving the Pelasgians.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶The Oenotrians were thought to have extended over a large area of Italy so that 'Oenotria' was for some synonymous with 'Italy', see Aristotle *Pol.* 7, 9; Antiochus of Syracuse *FGrH* 555 F2 = Dion. Hal. 1, 12.

²⁰⁷A *terminus ante quem* of c. A.D. 350 is provided for the scholia by Avienus (see I. Gualandri, *op. cit.* (above n. 44), pp. 151ff. In identifying the Pelasgians named here by D. as Arcadians the scholiast refers to Ephorus: 'Αρκάδες δὲ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οἱ Πελασγοί, ὡς καὶ Ἐφορος. Cf. Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F113 = Strabo 5, 2, 4: νομίζειν δέ φησιν Ἐφορος τὸ ἀνέκαθεν (τοὺς Πελασγούς) Ἀρκάδας ὄντας ἐλέσθαι στρατιωτικὸν βίον.

²⁰⁸Briquel 1984, *op. cit.* (above n. 201), p. 456.

According to Briquel, before Eustathius ‘Evandre n’est pas un Pélasge’. However, Ovid *Fasti* 2, 279ff. offers some evidence that the two traditions, which Briquel assumes were still quite separate in the poet’s time, might already have been connected. Ovid writes of the Lupercalia:

Transtulit Evander silvestria numina secum:

hic ubi nunc urbs est, tum locus urbis erat.

inde deum colimus devectaque sacra Pelasgis.

Briquel argues that Ovid is here using ‘Pelasgian’ merely as ‘une formule poétique’ for ‘Arcadian’. This is of course possible, and fits with Dion. Hal.’s account of the Arcadian migrations, but, when the passage of the *Fasti* is compared with D.’s reference to the Pelasgians of Italy as emigrants from Cyllene (see note below), it is also necessary to admit the possibility that the two distinct waves of Arcadian emigrants described by Dion. Hal., were perhaps, by some at least, viewed as one, in other words, that the tradition that the Pelasgians in Italy had come directly from Arcadia and not from Thessaly was already current in antiquity.

D.’s use of ‘Pelasgian’ elsewhere in the poem sheds little light on his understanding of the origins and movements of the Pelasgians themselves but seems to be related rather to its appearance in Ap. Rhod. as a title of Hera (1, 14).²⁰⁹ At 534 D. refers to the goddess under the same title, which recalls her connection with Argos and the Homeric Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος (*Il.* 2, 681). At Ap. Rhod 4, 96 (and later Nonnus, *Dion.* 4, 322; 32, 57 and 74) the goddess is named by another title, Ζυγίη, and it seems that D. may be connecting the two

²⁰⁹Ap. Rhod. elsewhere appears to equate ‘Pelasgian’ with ‘Thessalian’, e.g. 1, 580; 906; 2, 1239; 4, 243 etc.

titles when he refers to the Zygii of the Caucasus region as descendants of the Pelasgians (687).²¹⁰

Whether D. himself identified the Pelasgians with the followers of Evander or an earlier wave of Arcadian migrants is not as significant as the nature of the relationship which he implies existed between these Pelasgians and the Tyrrhenians. As noted above, he does not make the Tyrrhenians dispossess the Pelasgians, as do others, such as Pliny (*N. H.* 3, 5) and Strabo (5, 2, 3), but he describes the two peoples as living side by side. This seems to reflect not only a more favorable view of the Etruscans than is presented by Dion. Hal. and others, as Briquel argues, but also an attempt to allow for Hellenic influence on Etruscan and Roman origins.

348 *Κυλλήνηθεν* : as for the identification of Cyllene, it seems that D. probably intended the Arcadian mountain to be understood rather than the port of the same name in Elis.²¹¹ The anonymous paraphrast clearly understood D. to mean Cyllene, the mountain (*τὰ ἔθνη τῶν Πελασγῶν, οἵτινές ποτε ἀπὸ τῆς Κυλλήνης, τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ ὄρους*),²¹² and similarly Eustathius *ad loc.* specifies that it was from Arcadia that the Pelasgians emigrated to Italy. Pherecydes (*loc. cit.*) tells us that the mountain was named after the Naiad nymph whom Pelasgus' son married. Alternatively, according to the scholia on Euripides *Or.* 1647, the mountain was named after the wife of Pelasgus and the mother of Lycaon. Nevertheless, a connection

²¹⁰That D. links the Zygii with the Heniochi, who were identified as descendants of the charioteers of the Dioscuri (Strabo 11, 2, 12 etc.), perhaps suggests that he connected the Pelasgians with Sparta, the home of the Dioscuri, as well as Arcadia or rather the Peloponnese as a whole.

²¹¹It was from here that Messenian colonists sailed to Italy according to Pausanias 4, 23, 1.

²¹²*Geog. Gr. Min.* II, p. 460, col. II, 35ff.

between Pelasgus and Cyllene, the Arcadian nymph and mountain, is evident.²¹³

ἐφ' ἐσπερίην ἄλα : D. probably had in mind Aratus' description of the 'Altar' (*Phaen.* 406-7):

καὶ τῷ μὲν μάλα πάγχυ μετήροί εἰσι κέλευθοι

Ἄρκτούρω, τὸ δὲ θᾶσσον ὑφ' ἐσπερίην ἄλα νεῖται.

Cf. 45 and 58 where ἐσπερίη ἄλς is the name D. gives to the Mediterranean Sea as a whole. Here, however, he uses the term in a narrower sense, evoking the Greek name for Italy, 'Hesperia' (see Dion. Hal. 1, 35, 3). For the waters surrounding Italy as 'Hesperian' see, e.g., Horace, *Od.* 1, 28, 26; 2, 17, 19-20, and Nisbet and Hubbard *ad loc.*

349 αὐτόθι : certain MSS offer αὐτόθε, an alternative form for αὐτόθεν, which is otherwise attested only three times (Theoc., *Id.* 5, 60; 6, 15; *S.E.G.* 2, 293, 9), and which Tsavari oddly suggests is possibly the correct reading here. Cf. 368 below.

ναιήσαντο : this form of the aorist is only otherwise attested by Hesychius (s.v.). But cf. Empedocles Fr. 111, 8 Diels-Kranz (ναιήσονται).

350 τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ : for Tsavari's emendation see H. W. Chandler, *A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation* (Oxford, 1881), § 910, p.256. The interjection of δὲ between the noun and preposition should mean that the accent is not retracted. Cf. similarly 357 (τῇ δ' ἐπὶ) and 365 (τῇ δ' ὑπὸ) below.

μέρμερον : in Homer and Hesiod this word occurs only in the neuter plural and seems to denote destructive action or behaviour

²¹³Pausanias connects the mountain with the port, claiming that both were named after an Arcadian hero, 6, 26 4 and 8, 3, 41.

(e.g., *Il.* 8, 453; 11, 502; *Theog.* 603).²¹⁴ Most later authors use the adjective in a similarly negative sense (e.g., Eurip. *Rh.* 509: κακῶ μερμέρω; Lycophron 949: μέρμερον βλάβην). However, in a surviving fragment of the Orphic poems, where it describes the actions of Zeus, its meaning is perhaps closer to that intended here by D. (*Orph. Fr.* 21a, 9).²¹⁵

It seems that the difficulty of interpreting μέρμερον here was already felt in antiquity. Neither Avienus nor Priscian offers any translation, while the scholiast apparently connected it with μέριμνα and μέρμηρα, commenting *ad loc.*: μέρμερον δὲ ἔθνος, ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμικόν, οἷονεὶ μέριμνας τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρέχον. Eustathius clearly follows the scholiast, providing the glosses φροντιστικόν, συνετόν and μεριμνητικόν *ad loc.*²¹⁶ The anonymous paraphrast, however, avoids any such attempt to link μέρμερος with μέρμηρα, and to present thereby perhaps a more flattering portrait of the Latins, but gives πολεμικόν as a gloss.²¹⁷

ἔθνος Λατίνων : moving on from Tyrrhenia / Etruria, D. turns to Latium. Cf. Strabo who uses ἡ Λατίνη and οἱ Λατίνοι indiscriminately (5, 2, 1ff.).

According to Pliny (*N. H.* 3, 5) and Strabo (5, 3, 4) Latium originally stretched from its border with Etruria along the Tiber only as far south as Circeii (for the southern limit of ‘Latium Antiquum’ as positioned at Circeii see also Polyb. 3, 2 and pseudo-Scylax 8), but was later extended to incorporate Sinuessa (see also Mela 2, 4 and Servius *ad Aen.* 1, 6). Pliny, however, claims in the same passage that

²¹⁴West on *Theog.* 603 comments that the precise meaning of μέρμερα is unclear. See West 1966, *op. cit.* (above n. 55), p. 333.

²¹⁵For a full discussion of the fragment and its context see M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 218ff.

²¹⁶See also Eustathius on *Il.* 10, 524 (= p. 822).

²¹⁷*Geog. Gr. Min.* II, p. 460, col. II, 39f.

Sinuessa belonged to Campania. This is also the view of Ptolemy (3, 1, 5). It is possible that the notion that Latium's frontier with Campania lay somewhere between Minturnae and Sinuessa was related to the fact that Minturnae fell inside, and Sinuessa outside, the hundred-mile area around Rome.²¹⁸ The alternative view that Sinuessa itself marked the southern limit of Latium may have been based on the fact that it lay at the foot of the *Mons Massicus*, a prominent geographical feature providing an easily identifiable boundary. Nevertheless, where exactly the frontier between Latium and Campania was believed to lie remains uncertain, and this is perhaps in part due to the fact that under Augustus the two in fact came to form one region, which extended as far as the Silarus (see below on 361).²¹⁹

351 γαῖαν ναιετάοντες ἐπήρατον : cf. the words used of the Ariani at 1099: οὐ χθόνα ναιετάοντες ἐπήρατον. It is worth noting that D. situates the Ariani almost exactly opposite the Latins according to the diagram of the inhabited world which he draws at 269ff. and 620ff., and the same number of lines from the end of his description of Asia as the Latins from the beginning of his section on Europe.²²⁰ See on 327 above for another possible example of D.'s use of language to reflect physical symmetry.

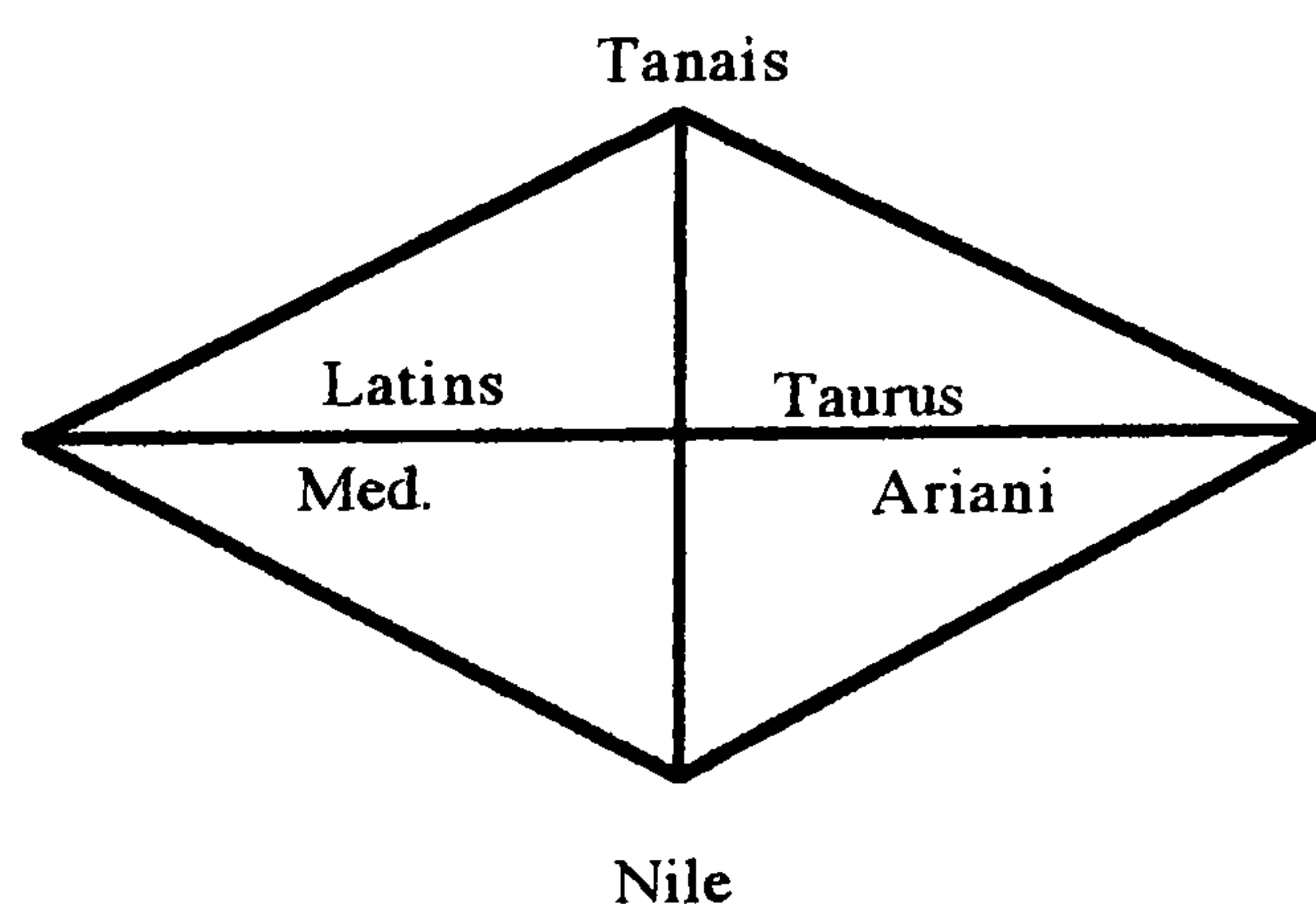
²¹⁸See Thomsen, *op. cit.* (above n. 119), p. 69f.

²¹⁹On the problem of identifying Latium's geographical boundaries (and those of other Italian regions also) see F. Coarelli, 'Strabone: Roma e il Lazio' in G. Maddoli (ed.), *Strabone e l'Italia Antica* (Naples, 1988), pp. 75ff., esp. p. 85: 'Da tutto ciò sembra emergere chiaramente che per Strabone (ma anche per le sue fonti, greche o romane che siano) il concetto di confine del Lazio non è un fatto geografico, e neppure amministrativo, ma sostanzialmente un fatto etnico. Strabone del resto non tiene alcun conto delle regioni augustee, sicuramente già esistenti al momento della redazione della sua opera . . .'

²²⁰The Nile and Tanais form one line of symmetry with the Mediterranean and the Taurus Mountains forming the other.

352-6 At the centre of D.’s account of Europe is his description of the Tiber and Rome. This description stands out from the poem as a whole in a number of ways. The rhetoric of the passage clearly underlines the importance of the subject. This is the only passage in the poem in which the epanalepsis of one place-name (Θύμβρις) is immediately succeeded by the anadiplosis of a second place-name (Ῥώμη). This is also the only point in the poem at which D. explicitly draws a relationship, albeit indirect, between himself and a particular site (see below on 355, ἐμῶν μέγαν οἶκον ἀνάκτων). It is perhaps worth noting here too that much of the language of this passage is quasi-religious (see further below on 352, 355, and 356).

There are certain parallels between D.’s description of Rome and the Εἰς Ῥώμην of his contemporary Aelius Aristides. Somewhat surprisingly D. does not refer to Rome’s monuments, in the same way that he describes, for example, Alexandria’s Pharos and Serapeum (255-9), or Ephesus’ Artemisium (827-9). As Laurent Pernot has noted, Aelius Aristides likewise omits any reference to Rome’s monuments in the Εἰς Ῥώμην. Pernot has argued that what interests Aristides is not Rome, the city, so much as Rome, the empire.²²¹ D. similarly might be said to be more concerned with Rome’s dominion than with the city itself as a physical entity.



²²¹L. Pernot, *Les Éloges grecs de Rome* (Paris, 1997), p. 26f.

The eulogies of Rome by Aristides and D. share another significant omission. Neither refers to Rome's history or her foundation.²²² The omission of any such reference is particularly striking in the *Periegesis* which contains so many allusions elsewhere to myths of the origins of peoples and places. D.'s description of Rome is, for example, preceded by his reference to the Greek origins of the Pelasgians, and followed by an allusion to a myth concerning the foundation of Naples (see below on 358). The absence of any reference to Rome's origins in D. helps to give the impression of the city as a timeless entity, like D.'s οἰκουμένη as a whole (see Introduction, p. 22).

352 Θύμβρις : for the use of this form of the Tiber see Plutarch, *Rom.* 1; Lucian, *Alex.* 27. The same name is given to the Syracusan channel at Theoc. 1, 118,²²³ and Servius claims that there were those who held that the Tiber was called after the Syracusan stream by the Sicilians who settled in this part of Italy (*ad Aen.* 3, 500 and 8, 330).

καθαρὸν ῥόον εἰς ἄλλα βάλλει : D. uses these words again of the River Iris at 783, echoing the description of the same river at Ap. Rhod. 2, 367f.:

... μετὰ τοῦ δ' ἀγχίρροος Ἴρις
μειότερος λευκῆσιν ἐλίσσεται εἰς ἄλλα δίναις.²²⁴

D. may also have had in mind here, as at 783, Ap. Rhod. 2, 401:

Φᾶσις δινῆεις εὐρὺν ῥόον εἰς ἄλλα βάλλει.

²²²See Pernot, *op. cit.* (above n. 221), p. 26: Ce qui revient à dire que ce discours en honneur de Rome, mis à part une brève allusion aux vers d'Homère sur Énée, ignore les origines de Rome, les parentés supposées entre Grecs et Romains, la fondation de la Ville, et laisse entièrement de côté l'histoire romaine, pour ne considérer la cité et l'Empire qu'au présent, dans leur état actuel.

²²³On whether this channel should be viewed as natural or man-made see Hunter, *op. cit.* (above, n. 71), p. 99.

²²⁴It is interesting to note that the scholia *ad loc.* provide the gloss καθαράις for λευκῆσι.

For the final clausula (ἄλλα βάλλει) see also Homer, *Il.* 11, 495; Ap. Rhod. 4, 289 and 632. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 11, 722; Ap. Rhod. 2, 744 (εἰς ἄλλα βάλλων).

καθαρόν : the adjective carries somewhat religious overtones, particularly when applied to water, cf. esp. Empedocles, *Fr.* 3, 1f.

Diels-Kranz:

ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τῶν μὲν μανίην ἀποτρέψατε γλώσσης,
ἐκ δ' ὁσίων στομάτων καθαρὴν ὀχετεύσατε πηγὴν
and Callim., *Hymn* 2, 110ff.:

Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,
ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.

The quasi-religious language continues in 355-6 (see nn. *ad loc.*).

353 ἐϋρρείτης : D. uses the same adjective of the Xanthus (848), the Tigris (984) and the Ganges (1152). It is otherwise uncommon but see Eurip., *Tr.* 810 (Σιμόεντι εὐρείτᾳ); Hesiod, *Theog.* 343 (ἐϋρρείτην τε Κάϊκον); Homer, *Il.* 6, 34 (Σατνιόεντος ἐϋρρείταο); *Od.* 14, 257 (Αἴγυπτον ἐϋρρείτην); Orph. *Arg.* 783f. (ἐϋρρείτου ποταμοῖο Φάσιδος); Philoxenus, *Fr.* 16 (εὐρείτας οἶνος πάμφωνος); A. P. 9, 628, 1 (Ioannes Grammaticus: Ἰππον ἐϋρρείτην).

ποταμῶν βασιλεύτατος ἄλλων : cf. Callim., *Fr.* 7, 34:

καὶ Φᾶσις [ποταμῶν ἡμε]τέρων βασιλεύς.

It seems likely that D. had Callim.'s words in mind here, but he may also have recalled the descriptions of the Tiber by Ennius (*Ann.* 1, 63 Skutsch: *postquam constitit † isti fluvius, qui est omnibus princeps*),

and Virgil (*Aen.* 8, 77: *corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum*²²⁵), which appear to echo the same verse of Callim.

The superlative βασιλεύτατος is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 9, 69: 'Ατρείδη, σὺ μὲν ἄρχε· σὺ γὰρ βασιλεύτατός ἐσσι).

βασιλεύτατος ἄλλων : for the superlative + ἄλλων cf., e.g., Homer, *Il.* 1,505 (ὠκυμορώτατος ἄ.); *Od.* 5, 105 (οἰζυρώτατον ἄ.); Ap. Rhod. 1, 180 (ποδωκηέστατον ἄ.); Aratus, *Phaen.* 1056 (ἔσχατος ἄ.); Callim., *Hymn* 4, 156 (φιλοξεινωτάτη ἄ.); Theoc., *Fr.* 3, 4 (ιερώτατος ἄ.).²²⁶

354 ἱμερτήν : another Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 2, 751: ἱμερτὸν Τιταρησσὸν). Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 565 (ἱμερτὴ Πιτύεια) and Livrea *ad loc.*: 'L'agg., detto di isola o comunque di entità geografica, è di uso lirico.'

355 ἐμῶν μέγαν οἶκον ἀνάκτων : the phrase could almost describe a temple (see also below on 356: ἀφνειὸν ἔδεθλον). For the use of οἶκος to denote a temple or shrine see, e.g., Eurip. *Phoen.* 1373; Hdt. 8, 143. For ἄνακτες of the gods collectively, see esp. Aesch., *Suppl.* 222; Pindar, *Ol.* 10, 49. However, see also *I.G.* 4, 147 (= *C.I.G.* 1167) for θεοὶ ἄνακτες as an imperial address.²²⁷

Eustathius asserts that the reference here is either to Nero or to Augustus, but does not attempt to explain the use of the plural. In fact the plural seems to suggest that D. was alluding to successive rulers.

²²⁵This verse was regularly cited by Latin grammarians to demonstrate the use of the Nominative for the Vocative. See I. Barabino, A.V. Nazzaro, A. Scivoletto (edd.), *Interpretationum Vergilianarum Minorum Indices* (Genova, 2000), p. 264.

²²⁶On the ablative genitive see Kirk on Homer, *Il.* 1, 505; Kidd on Aratus, *Phaen.* 1056; and Chantraine 2, 224.

²²⁷Boeckh reads this as a reference to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (*C.I.G.* I, pp. 588f.).

The passage as a whole, in particular the apparent link drawn between the ruling power and the gods and the use of the possessive pronoun, is somewhat reminiscent of Callim., *Hymn* 2, 26f. and 65ff.:

ὅς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν ἐμῷ βασιλῇ μάχοιτο·
ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῇ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο.

Φοῖβος καὶ βαθύγειον ἐμὴν πόλιν ἔφρασε Βάττω
καὶ Λιβύην ἐσιόντι κόραξ ἡγήσατο λαῷ,
δεξιὸς οἰκιστῆρι, καὶ ὤμοσε τείχεα δώσειν
ἡμετέροις βασιλεῦσιν·

See below on 356 for further possible echoes of Callim., *Hymn* 2.

356 μητέρα πασάων πολίων : cf. Galen 14, 296 Kühn for ἡ μητρόπολις as an absolute term, metonymic for Rome. The term is most frequently used, however, to describe the relationship between a ruling state and its colonies, see, e.g., Aesch., *Pers.* 895; Aristides, *Panathenaic* 58; Hdt. 7, 51 and 8, 31; Thuc. 1, 107 and 6. 82; Pindar, *Pythian* 4, 19f. For its use for the capital city of a specific people, see, e.g., Strabo 5, 4, 2 (Κορφίνιον, τῶν Περίγνων μητρόπολιν); 6, 1, 5 (Κωσεντία μητρόπολις Βρεττίων).

ἄφνειόν : cf. D.'s description of Alexandria (οὐκ ἂν ἴδοιο / . . . ἄφνειὴν ἐτέρην πόλιν) and above on 256-8 for the allusion to Callim.'s description of the Artemisium at Ephesus in *Hymn* 3.

ἔδεθλον : commonly used by Hellenistic authors to denote the shrine or precinct of a deity (e.g., Antimachus 33 Matthews; Ap. Rhod. 4, 331; Callim., *Hymn* 2, 72; *Ep. Gr.* 978, 9 Kaibel), the essential meaning of this word is 'seat' (see the Suda s.v.).²²⁸ Cf. similarly ἐδέθλιον (Ap. Rhod. 4, 630; Callim. *Hymn* 2, 62; *Hymn* 4,

²²⁸On the Suda entry see A.S. Hollis, *op. cit.* (above n. 79) Appendix V, p. 359. Hollis favours Adler's attribution of the gloss here to the *Hecale*.

228; *Fr.* 12, 4; Nonnus, *Dion.* 3, 258 *et al.*). Livrea seems to favour regarding the use of the word as exclusively Hellenistic (see on *Ap. Rhod.* 4, 331. He reads ἐδέθλιον in D.), although Auratus' emendation of ἔδεθλα for ἐσθλά at *Aesch., Ag.* 776 is generally accepted.

357 Καμπανῶν λιπαρὸν πέδον : Campania was widely renowned and exploited for its fertility, see, e.g., *Dion. Hal.* 1, 37, 2; *Pliny, N. H.* 3, 5; *Polyb.* 2, 17, 1; *Strabo* 5, 4, 3f. It was also famed as the site of τὸ πεδίον Φλεγραῖον or τὰ Φλεγραῖα, the volcanic plain associated with the gigantomachy (e.g., *Diod. Sic.* 4, 21, 5; *Polyb.* 3, 91, 7; *Strabo* 5, 4, 4). D., however, makes no reference to the volcanicity of the region, which was early thought to contribute to its fertility (*Strabo* 5, 4, 8), or to the gigantomachy.

μέλαθρον : it is not entirely clear whether D. is referring here to Parthenope's monument alone, as comparison with 255 might suggest (see above), or to the city of Naples as a whole, as is indicated by the emphasis given in the epanalepsis and the fact that Parthenope was a common poeticism for Naples (see below).

358 ἀγνῆς Παρθενόπης : Parthenope was said to have been the name of one of the Sirens who, when unable to prevent Odysseus from sailing past, drowned themselves in the Tyrrhenian Sea, see *Hyginus, Fab.* 141; *Lycophron* 712ff.; *Servius ad Aen.* 5, 864. She was believed to have been washed ashore near Naples, where a monument and annual games were established in her honour, see *Lycophron* 719f.; *Strabo* 5, 4, 3; *Timaeus FGrHist* 566 F98 = *schol. ad Lyc.* 732. Parthenope was also thought to have been the name of the original city founded next to the site of Naples, which came to be

known as Palaeopolis when the 'New City' was established (Lutatius Daphnis in Servius, *ad Georg.* 4, 563; Livy 8, 22, 5; pseudo-Scymnus 251f.; Velleius Paterculus 1, 4, 1).²²⁹ The two cities were not always distinguished and Parthenope was used as a poetic name for both (e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 15, 711f.; Statius, *Silvae* 4, 8, 3; Virgil, *Georg.* 4, 563f. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 5; Solinus 2, 9).

Stating that D. does allude here to the myth of the Siren, the scholiast nevertheless also refers to the story of another Parthenope, the daughter of Polycrates of Samos (see Hdt. 3, 124). His account is somewhat disjointed. He remarks that this Parthenope went in search of her husband to the court of Anaxilaus in Rhegium (cf. Hdt. 6, 23; 7, 165). He then adds that she was loved by Metiochus (cf. Hdt. 6, 41), and that, although pursued by many men, she maintained her chastity, cut off her hair and settled in Campania.²³⁰ Eustathius too mentions Polycrates' daughter, offering similar details of her story, and giving more credit to the possibility that it is in fact to this Parthenope that D. refers than does the scholiast. He suggests that it is because she cut off her hair, intending to make herself unattractive, and presumably thereby to guard her chastity, that D. describes her as ἀγνή· τάχα δία τὴν τοιαύτην σωφροσύνην ἀγνήν ὁ Διονύσιος τὴν Παρθενόπην ὠνομασεν.

However, there is nothing else in his description of Parthenope to suggest that D. had in mind Polycrates' daughter, and it is of course

²²⁹The precise reasons for the construction of the new city are somewhat obscure. According to Lutatius the Cumaeans who had founded the original city later destroyed it, fearing that its wealth would attract too many immigrants from Cumae itself. They were then hit by a famine and told by an oracle to restore the city, and thus the 'New City' was built. Livy, however, relates that the two cities co-existed and were united by the same population. On the relationship between Palaeopolis and Neapolis, see M. Frederiksen, *Campania* (Rome, 1984), p. 85: 'Palaeopolis, in virtue of its dominating position, must have continued to be strategically important, and formed a kind of external garrison, distinct from the new planned town and having entirely separate walls.'

²³⁰On the story of Parthenope and Metiochus, and in particular its treatment in what appears to be an early Greek novel (probably 1st cent. B.C./A.D.), see S.A. Stephens and J.J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (Princeton, 1995), pp. 72ff.

hardly remarkable that someone by the name of Parthenope should be described as ἄγνή. Moreover, this adjective was commonly used of Demeter and Persephone (see esp. [Archil.] *Fr.* 322 West; Hesiod, *Op.* 465; Homer, *Od.* 11, 386; *H. Hymn Dem.* 203, 337, 439; *I. G.* 14, 204), and both goddesses were associated with Campania.²³¹ They were interestingly also linked with the Sirens, who were said to have attended Persephone (Ap. Rhod. 4, 896; Hyginus, *loc. cit.*). Given the reference to στάχυες which immediately follows (see below), it seems likely that D. is in fact alluding to the connections with Demeter here, who was celebrated at Naples under the titles ‘Actaea’ and ‘Thesmophorus’ (see esp. Statius, *Silv.* 4, 8, 50f.; *I.G.* 14, 756 *add.* a.1). It may be that he confused the monument to Parthenope with the temple of Demeter in Naples (on which see Cicero, *Verr.* 4, 53), or that he wanted to draw a parallel between the Siren and the goddess who was linked with the constellation known as Παρθένος (see Aratus 96ff. and Kidd *ad loc.* See also below on στάχυς).

σταχύων : a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 23, 598) common, nevertheless, in later literature. The στάχυς was Demeter’s symbol and it was also the name of the foremost star of the Παρθένος constellation, see esp. [Empedocles] *Sphaera*, 9f.:

Παρθένος κυρεῖ ἔχουσα λαμπρὸν χειρὶ

Δήμητρος Στάχυν.²³²

Cf. Aratus, *Phaen.* 97:

Παρθένον, ἥ ρ’ ἐν χειρὶ φέρει Στάχυν αἰγλήεντα

The constellation as a whole was itself connected with Demeter, see, e.g., Manilius 2, 442: *spicifera est Virgo Cereris*. Furthermore, the

²³¹The cult of Demeter seems to have been introduced by the Chalcidians, first at Cumae and then Naples and elsewhere (e.g., Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 55; Vell. Patern. *loc. cit.*; *C.I.L.* 10, 3685). Situated next to Cumae, Lake Avernus and a nearby grove were said to have been sacred to Persephone (e.g., Diod. Sic. 4, 22; Lycophron 698ff.).

²³²In E. Maass, *Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae* (Berlin, 1819; repr. 1958), pp. 154ff.

association seems to have been particularly with Demeter as ‘Thesmophorus’, see esp. Aratus, *Phaen.* 105ff.:

καί ἐ Δίκην καλέεσκον· ἀγειρομένη δὲ γέροντας
ἥέ που εἶν ἀγορῇ ἢ εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν ἀγυιῇ,
δημοτέρας ἥειδεν ἐπισπέρχουσα θέμιστας.

Cf. Aratus’ model here, Hesiod, *Op.* 256: ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη.

As noted above, ‘Thesmophorus’ was one of the titles under which Demeter was worshipped at Naples, and it seems that D. is here alluding to the goddess’ cult as celebrated in this city.

ἀμάλλαις = ‘sheaf’, see Eustathius, on *Il.* 18, 553f. = p. 1162, 25ff. (ἀμαλλοδετῆρες); Hesychius s.v. ἀμάλαι and ἄμαλλα; schol. on Theoc. 10, 44 (ἀμαλλοδέται). Interestingly Eustathius notes that Demeter also bore the title ἀμαλλοφόρος.

Tsavari’s emendation to ἀμάλλης seems unnecessary.

359 ἐοῖς ὑπεδέξατο κόλποις : D. has here combined a Homeric verse-ending with another from Ap. Rhod. See *Il.* 6, 136, Θέτις δ’ ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ (cf. 18, 398, Θέτις θ’ ὑπ. κ.), and Ap. Rhod 1, 210, ἐοῖς ὑπέδεκτο δόμοισι (cf. 2, 653). This phrase seems to confirm that D. is describing the Siren Parthenope rather than the daughter of Polycrates.

360 Cf. 398:

Πρὸς δὲ νότον, μάλα πολλὸν ὑπὸ Θρήκην ἐρίβωλον

It is worth noting that the southern limit of Thrace lies on roughly the same latitude as the Cape of Minerva, to which D. seems to refer here (see below). This may be another example of his use of verbal

parallels to indicate geographical parallels (see above on 327 and 351).

μάλα πολλὸν : see esp. Ap. Rhod. 3, 311ff.:

. . . ἐκ δ' ἰκόμεσθα

ἄκτῃν ἡπείρου Τυρσηνίδος, ἔνθ' ἔτι νῦν περ

ναιετάει, μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι Κολχίδος αἴης.

Campbell notes *ad loc.* that these verses echo Homer, *Od.* 4, 810-11:

. . . οὔτι πάρος γε

πώλέ', ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι δώματα ναίεις

Cf. *Il.* 23, 382: εἴ οἱ καὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι πίνονες ἄγροισι,

and Ap. Rhod. 2, 863: . . ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀπ' ἐλπίδος ἔπλετο νόστος.

Σειρηνίδα πέτρην : according to Strabo, while some believed the rocks once inhabited by the Sirens to be situated on Sicily's Cape Pelorus, others located them off the Cape of Minerva, also known as τὸ ἄκρωτήριον Σειρηνουσσῶν (1, 2, 13. See also 5, 4, 8; schol. on Lyc. 715).²³³ Servius makes them inhabit first Pelorus and later the Capreae (Capri) lying immediately to the west of the Cape of Minerva (*ad Aen.* 5, 864). The Capreae, however, are referred to as distinct from the Sirenussae elsewhere (see, e.g., Ptolemy 3, 1, 69; Strabo 6, 1, 6). Pliny seems to identify the former home of the Sirens with the Cape of Minerva itself (*N. H.* 3, 5, 62), and D. may do the same here, which would explain his use of the singular. The scholiast and Eustathius, however, identify D.'s Σειρηνίδα πέτρην with the aforementioned μέλαθρον Παρθένοπης, and D. may simply be referring again to Pizzofalcone, the rocky summit on which

²³³ Ap. Rhod. names the home of the Sirens as the island of Anthemoessa (4, 891ff.), which is identified by Strabo with Samos (14, 1, 15), but which Delage locates near Capri and the Cape of Minerva (*loc. cit.*, pp. 240f.).

Palaeopolis was founded rather than the Cape of Minerva, or he may indeed have confused the two.

The Cape of Minerva was apparently established by Augustus as the frontier between Campania and Lucania (see Mela 2, 4; Pliny *loc. cit.* Cf. Strabo 5, 3, 4 for Campania ending at the Cape of Minerva).²³⁴ At some point, however, this frontier seems to have been fixed at the River Silarus (see below on 361).

Σειρηνίδα : for this form see Alcman 1, 96 Diehl (ἅ δὲ τᾶν Σηρην[ί]δων); pseudo-Scymnus 223ff. (Σειρηνίδες Κίρκης τε νῆσοι λεγομέναι); Tzetzes *H.* 1, 341 (οἱ μὲν γὰρ πέτρας λέγουσιν εἶναι που σειρηνίδας).

361 φαίνονται προχοαί : see above on 259.

Πευκεντίνου Σιλάραιο : Strabo tells us that the Romans transferred a μικρὸν ἀπόσπασμα of the Picenti(ni) who dwelled on the Adriatic coast to the stretch of land bordering on the Poseidonian Gulf (5, 4, 13). He adds that these Picenti(ni) extended as far as the River Silarus, the boundary between ‘old’ Campania and Lucania: διήκουσι δ’ οἱ Πίκεντες μέχρι τοῦ Σιλάριδος ποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ὀριζοντος ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας τὴν ἀρχαίαν Καμπανίαν. Similarly Pliny, after indicating that Augustus fixed the Campania/Lucania frontier at the Cape of Minerva, proceeds by stating that the third Augustan region, ‘Lucania and Bruttium’, began at the Silarus: *A Silaro regio tertia et ager Lucanus Bruttiusque incipit* (*N. H.* 3, 5, 71). The area between the Cape of Minerva and the Silarus he names the ‘Ager Picentinus’, which he claims was once occupied by the Etruscans and was famous for its temple to Juno, founded by Jason (*N. H.* 3, 5, 70). It is possible that the Silarus acted as an ‘old’

²³⁴On the location of the Campania/Lucania frontier in Pliny see Thomsen, *op. cit.* (above n. 119), pp. 23 and 56.

tribal frontier between Campania and Lucania, which was replaced under Augustus by the Cape of Minerva.

What is clear is that the Picenti(ni) were situated on the Poseidonian Gulf between these two landmarks (see also Ptolemy 3, 1, 6-8). They are said by Strabo to have been ἄποικοι ('colonists') from the indigenous Sabines, as were the Samnites, from whom the Lucani were ἄποικοι, from whom in turn were the Bretti (5, 3, 1. Cf. below on 362).

The form Πευκεντίνοϛ for Πικεντίνοϛ does not occur elsewhere and it could possibly be that D. somehow confused these Picenti(ni) with the Peucetii of Apulia (cf. above on 347 for Peucetius).

According to Strabo the Silarus was said to petrify any plants that were immersed in its waters, although preserving their colour and shape (5, 4, 13. See similarly Pliny, *N. H.* 2, 106; Silius Italicus 8, 581). Typically D., however, makes no mention of any such supernatural phenomenon.

362 Λευκανοὶ καὶ Βρέντιοι : as noted above on 361, 'Lucania and Bruttium' was the name of the third region of Italy designated by Augustus. Beginning at the Silarus, it extended as far as Metapontum (see Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 11, 97. Cf. Strabo 6, 1, 4). Nevertheless, it is interesting to see that Pliny (*N. H.* 3, 5, 72), Strabo (*loc. cit.*) and Ptolemy (3, 1, 8-9) each indicate that the boundary between Lucania and Bruttium lay at the mouth of the River Laus on the Tyrrhenian coast, so that there remained a clear distinction between the two areas.²³⁵ Similarly there seems to have persisted a distinction between

²³⁵Thomsen notes that the ancient sources are silent on the issue of where the boundary between the Lucani and Bretti fell at the Gulf of Tarentum, *op. cit.* (above n. 119), p. 80f. Nevertheless, some evidence has survived to indicate in which direction the boundary reached from the River Laus, see Livy 8, 24, 4f.: *Pandosia urbe, imminente Lucanis ac Bruttiis finibus*. Cf. Strabo 6, 1, 5.

the two peoples. The Lucani are represented as Samnite in origin by Pliny (*N. H.* 3, 5, 71) and Strabo (5 1 3; 6, 1, 2). The Bretti, described as ἄποικοι of the Lucani, are also said to be of Samnite descent (Strabo, *loc. cit.* Cf. Dion. Hal. 1, 89, 3).²³⁶ According to Strabo the Bretti had originally tended the flocks of the Lucani, who had given the Bretti their name when they had revolted against them (6 1, 4).²³⁷ Strabo's account of the relationship between the Lucani and Bretti is particularly interesting in that, while attempting to differentiate between the two peoples and the areas held by each, he remarks on the difficulty of doing so because of the fact that they and the Samnites had reached such a state of decline that their distinguishing characteristics had completely disappeared.²³⁸ Nevertheless, he criticizes Antiochus for failing to distinguish between the Lucani and Bretti, and therefore speaking of the region in a 'simplistic' and 'archaic' manner. Antiochus, it seems, referred to the whole region as Brettia, stating that at one time this area had been known as 'Italy' and at another as 'Oenotria' (*FGrHist* 555 F3a-c. Cf. on 347 above).

For the use of the form Βρέντιος for Βρέττιος see also Herodian and Hesychius s.v. (ἔθνος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ).

363 τοσσάτιον : cf. Ap. Rhod. 4, 961f.:

ὅσση δ' εἰαρινοῦ μηκύνεται ἡματος αἶσα
τοσσάτιον μογέεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον, . . .

²³⁶On the relationships between the Samnites, Lucani, and Bretti, and in particular how these peoples themselves viewed these relationships see Dench, *op. cit.* (above n. 120), p. 208. On the problem of the origins of the Bretti generally see D. Musti, 'Sanniti, Lucani e Bretti nella Geografia di Strabone', in *Strabone e la Magna Grecia* (Padua, 1988), pp. 259ff.

²³⁷For 'Bretti' as a local name for 'runaway slaves' see Diod. Sic. 16, 15, 1-2: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων διάλεκτον οἱ δραπεταὶ βρέττιοι προσηγορεύοντο.

²³⁸Strabo 6, 1, 2: οὕτω δ' εἰσὶ κεκακωμένοι τελέως οὗτοι (οἱ Λευκανοὶ) καὶ Βρέττιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Σαυνῖται οἱ τούτων ἀρχηγέται, ὥστε καὶ διορίσαι χαλεπὸν τὰς κατοικίας αὐτῶν· αἴτιον δ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι σύστημα κοινὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκάστου συμμένει, τὰ τε ἔθη διαλέκτων τε καὶ ὀπλισμοῦ καὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ἐκλέλοιπεν.

As Livrea notes *ad loc.* τοσσάτιος occurs exclusively in late Epic, see also, e.g., Andromachus in Galen 14, 41 Kühn; A. P. 7, 56, 4, *et al.*; Nonnus, *Dion.* 3, 302 *et al.*. Ap. Rhod. and D. provide the earliest examples of the use of the neuter absolute with correlative ὅσ(σ)ος.

Λευκὴν ἐπὶ πέτρην : the ‘White Rock’ was the name of the outermost tip of the Bruttian peninsula (Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 5, 74; Ptolemy 3, 1, 9; Strabo 5, 1, 3 and 6, 1, 7 etc.). Earlier and contemporary extant sources have Λευκόπετρα or Leucopetra. The tmesis is perhaps intended to suggest archaism, nevertheless.

Given the fact that for the most part he focuses on the Greek colonies of Italy, it seems strange that D. omits any mention of Rhegium, which lay to the north of Leucopetra on the Tyrrhenian coast. Rhegium was a Chalcidian colony of some renown, which remained loyal to Rome during the Hannibalic War and thereby escaped the devastation which many of the other Greek colonies of the south of Italy suffered (see Livy 23, 30; Strabo 5, 1, 3; 6, 1, 6. Cf. D. on Croton at 369).

364 Ζεφύρου παραφαίνεται ἄκρη : the southern cape of the Bruttian peninsula was called Heracleium, and immediately to its north on the Ionian coast lay Zephyrium (Ζεφύριον: Ptolemy 3, 1, 10; Strabo 6, 1, 7). Strabo claims that this promontory received its name as a result of the fact that its harbour was exposed to winds from the west (*loc. cit.*).

The periphrasis here struck Eustathius as noteworthy: τοῦτο δὲ Ζεφύρου ἄκραν φησὶ περιφραστικῶς ὁ Διονύσιος, ὥς τοῦ τοιούτου ὅρους καὶ ζεφύρου τρισυλλάβως καλομένου, ἅφ’ οὗ οἱ Ἐπιζεφύριοι Λοκροὶ δοκοῦσι κληθῆναι, ὥς περὶ αὐτὸ κείμενοι (see below).

365 τῇ δ' ὑπὸ Λοκροῖ ἔασιν : the manner in which D. refers to the Locri Epizephyrii suggested to the scholiast and to Eustathius that he took them to have been named after Zephyrium, as did others (see, e.g., Dion. Hal. 19, 4 (17, 5); Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 5, 74; Servius *ad Aen.* 3, 399). However, the scholiast adds that Callim. 'and many others' held that these Locri were described as 'Epizephyrii' διὰ τὸ πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κεῖσθαι (= Callim. *Fr.* 615 Pf.). Eustathius goes somewhat further, stating that there were those who referred to the Italian Locri as 'Epizephyrii' in order to distinguish them from 'the other Locri' (see below on 365-6), διὰ τὸ ἐκείνους μὲν ἄλλαχου κεῖσθαι, τούτους δὲ πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον. It is not clear whether this was the full explanation offered by Callim., or whether such explanations were offered because the town of Locri Epizephyrii was not situated at Zephyrium.²³⁹ D. does not make explicit his own beliefs as to the origins of the name 'Epizephyrii', although he does situate them beneath Zephyrium, which in fact lay some way to the northeast of Locri itself. Strabo, who like D. only implies that the Locri Epizephyrii took their name from Zephyrium, tells us that the first settlement was at Zephyrium but that this was later transferred to Epopis (6, 1, 7). It was held by certain authorities to be the westernmost town of Magna Graecia, see Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 10, 95; Ptolemy 3, 1, 10.

ὅσοι προτέροις ἐτέεσσιν : D. perhaps had in mind here Hesiod, *Theog.* 424:

ὅσσ' ἔλαχεν Τιτῆσι μετὰ προτέροισι θεοῖσιν.

Cf. also Aratus 400 for προτέροισι πόδεσσι in the same *sedes*.

²³⁹See D. Musti, 'Problemi della storia di Locri Epizephyrii' in *Atti del XVI Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1976* (Naples, 1977), pp. 26f.

365-6 Λοκροὶ . . . ἀνάσσης : as the scholiast and Eustathius note, D. here alludes to the tale that Locri Epizephyrii was founded by Greek slaves, slaves of the Locri Opuntii, according to the scholiast, but of the Locri on the Crisaeian Gulf, according to Eustathius. These slaves were said to have had intercourse with free-born women whose husbands had been sent to aid the Spartans in the Messenian War. When these Spartan allies returned from battle, the slaves are said to have fled with the women to Italy, where they founded Locri Epizephyrii. Polybius tells us that Aristotle accepted this account of Locri's origins for which he was harshly criticized by Timaeus (Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F12 = Polybius 12, 5, 1ff. See Walbank *ad loc.* on whether Polybius knew Aristotle's account or took it from Timaeus and the Locri Epizephyrii themselves.). Polybius details Timaeus' criticisms (for which see also *FGrHist* 566 F11a = Athenaeus 6, 264c-d), and he proceeds to counter them, remarking that Timaeus does not even distinguish between the Opuntian and Ozolian Locri (12, 10, 3f.). Indeed there seems to have been some dispute in antiquity as to which Locri were responsible for the foundation of Locri Epizephyrii. Most appear to have believed that Locri Epizephyrii was a colony of the Opuntian Locri (see, e.g., Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F138 = Strabo 6, 1, 7; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 705; pseudo-Scymnus 312ff.; Solinus 2, 10; Virgil, *Aen.* 3, 399. See also Pausanias 3, 19, 12, but cf. 3, 3, 1, where he indicates that both Locri and Croton were Spartan foundations). However, Strabo, followed by Eustathius it would seem, made it a colony of the Locri on the Crisaeian Gulf, further west (6, 1, 7).

Interestingly Eustathius also notes that there were those who read here σφετέρῃ ἀνάσσει μιχθέντες or πεισθέντες,²⁴⁰ understanding a reference to the Locri as subject to Rome. However, that D. is alluding

²⁴⁰See Priscian 360: *istuc reginam propriam venere secuti*.

here to the much discussed origins of the Locri seems clear, and the attempt to interpret his words differently perhaps reveals the same reluctance as is shown by Timaeus to attribute to the Italian Locri a history which might reflect negatively upon them. That is not to say that the story of Locri's slave origins should necessarily be given more credence than that offered by Timaeus. As Walbank notes (*loc. cit.*), this story itself resembles an *aetion* to explain Locri's matrilineal customs.

367 ἐπὶ προχοῇσιν Ἄληκος : the Suda, like D., offers Ἄληξ with a smooth breathing (s.v.), while Strabo employs a rough breathing (6, 1, 9). Different readings are given by different editors of Thucydides, who provides the earliest extant mention of this river (3, 99).

According to Strabo the river divided the Locrian from the Rhegian lands. As Eustathius notes, Strabo also claimed that on the Rhegian bank of this river the cicadas were mute, while those on the Locrian sang, stating that it had been suggested that the Rhegian bank was too shady and damp to allow the cicadas there to sing. The strange behaviour of the cicadas of Rhegium is also noted by Solinus (2, 40) but, like other floral and faunal phenomena, is passed over in silence by D.

368 Μεταπόντιοι : D.'s insertion of the Metapontii here is somewhat strange. Until this point he has been following the coast in an anti-clockwise movement around the tip of the 'toe' of Italy. Metapontum, however, was situated on the 'instep' of the peninsula, some way to the north of the River Alex / Halex, and also Croton and Sybaris, which D. proceeds to describe in the following verses. The

Metapontii, therefore, appear to be out of sequence, and there is no clear indication as to why (but see further below, and esp. on 375).

According to Strabo none of the Greek colonies of Metapontum, Croton or Sybaris existed any longer in his day, although, because of their former glory, he does deem them worthy of mention (6, 1, 11ff.).

Strabo states that Metapontum was said to have been founded originally by Pylians returning from Troy, but that the settlement had been completely destroyed by the Samnites (6, 1, 15).²⁴¹ He gives Antiochus' account of its resettlement by Achaeans summoned by the inhabitants of Sybaris who wished to strengthen their position against Tarentum, and also reports Antiochus' statement that the city was first named Metabum, apparently after its founder, the hero Metabus, who later became known as Metapontus (Antiochus *FGrHist* 555 F12 = Strabo *loc. cit.*). However, he seems to regard this last statement as falsely based and to accept rather Ephorus' testimony that the town was founded by Daulius, the tyrant of Crisa, near Delphi (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F141 = Strabo *loc. cit.*). It is perhaps because of this connection with Crisa that D. names the Metapontii at this point in his description of Magna Graecia. As noted above (on 366), the Locri Epizephyrii were said by Strabo to have come as settlers from the Crisaeen Gulf, and it may be that D. or his source therefore associated with them the Metapontii from Crisa itself. Nevertheless, that D. appears to transfer Metapontium from the Gulf of Tarentum to the 'toe' of Italy is strange and striking.

²⁴¹For discussion of the place of the Pylian tradition in Metapontum, and also whether Strabo's report of the Samnite destruction of Metapontum should be accepted see G. Pugliese Carratelli, 'Problemi della storia di Metaponto Arcaica' in *Atti del XII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1973* (Naples, 1974), pp. 49ff. On the destruction and resettlement of Metapontum in particular see G. Maddoli, 'Fra KTISMA ed EPOIKIA: Strabone, Antioco e le origini di Metaponto e Siri' in *Strabone: contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera II* (Perugia, 1986), pp. 137ff.

Stephanus (s.v.) and Eustathius (*ad loc.*) seem to identify the town of Metapontum with Heracleia, claiming that its former name had been Siris.²⁴² Strabo, however, clearly distinguishes Metapontum from the port of Heracleia, placing it forty stadia further east (6, 1, 15).

ἐγγύθε : it is difficult to see why Tsavari emends ἐγγύθαι to the unattested ἐγγύθε, when most MSS offer the not unacceptable ἐγγύθι.

σφεων : besides the Homeric examples of this form of the pronoun noted by Tsavari, see also Ap. Rhod 1, 980 and 3, 230 (same *sedes*).

369 ἐυστεφάνοιο Κρότωνος : the scholiast *ad loc.* cites the testimony of Callim. as evidence that Croton had been home to many victorious athletes, and states that it was for this reason that D. described the city as being ‘well-crowned’ (= Callim., *Fr.* 616 Pf.). Eustathius also writes that D. is alluding here to the fact that there had been many Olympic victors who hailed from Croton. Indeed Strabo describes a particular Olympic festival when the first seven in the stadium-race were all Crotoniates, giving rise to the proverb Κροτωνιατῶν ὁ ἔσχατος πρῶτος ἦν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (6, 1, 12). Croton’s most illustrious athlete seems to have been Milo, who, according to Diod. Sic., was six times champion at Olympia, and led the Crotoniates in their crushing defeat of the Sybarites (12, 9, 5ff. See further below on 372ff.).

In other instances of the use of ἐυστέφανος of places, the adjective appears to refer to walls and battlements. See, e.g., Homer, *Il.* 19, 99; Hesiod, *Theog.* 978, ἐυστεφάνῳ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ; [Hesiod] *Asp.*

²⁴²For Siris as in fact the former name of the port of Heracleia see Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 5, 97; Strabo 6, 1, 14.

80, εὐστέφανον ποτὶ Θήβην; Pindar, *Pyth.* 2, 58, εὐστεφάνων ἀγυῖαν. See also the Suda s.v.: εὐτείχιστον. Cf. D. 1006: (Βαβυλῶν) τείχεσιν ἀρραγέεσσι Σεμίραμις ἐστεφάνωσεν. Eustathius *ad Il.* 19, 99 (= p. 1174-5) offers both interpretations: Ἐυστέφανον δὲ τὴν Θήβην λέγει ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐτείχεα, διὰ τὰς πύργων στεφάνας, ἥ ὥς πολλὰ στεφανωσαμένην ἐν ἀγῶσι πολεμικοῖς τε καὶ ἑτεροίοις, ὅποιαν τινὰ καὶ τὴν Κρότωνα ὁ Περιγητῆς ἱστορεῖ.

According to Livy, Croton had at one time been surrounded by walls of a circuit of twelve miles, but it was so devastated after Pyrrhus' arrival in Italy that scarcely half the city remained inhabited (24, 3. Cf. Strabo 6, 1, 12: οὐ πολὺν χρόνον οἰκηθεῖσα διὰ τὸν φθόρον τῶν ἐπὶ Σάγρα πεσόντων ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος). The anachronism of representing Croton as still 'crowned' by an impressive circuit of walls is not atypical of D. (cf. on 248-9 above), and D. might well be alluding to both Croton's athletic distinction and the city's long walls.

As Eustathius *ad loc.* notes, Croton's former size and might is also attested by the fact that the city sent a ship to aid Greece in the Persian war under the leadership of Phayllus, three times victor in the Pythian games (Hdt. 8, 47).

370 Αἰσάρου : the earliest extant mention of this river is at Theoc., *Id.* 4, 17, the scansion of which is adopted by D.²⁴³ Strabo locates it to the north of Croton, between the city and the River Neaethus, beside which the Trojan women were said to have set fire to the ships of the Achaeans, forcing them to settle there (6, 1, 12). D. makes no

²⁴³ On the setting of *Idyll* 4 see R.L. Hunter, *op. cit.* (above n. 71), p. 129: As in *Idyll* 5, the scene is set in southern Italy, near Kroton at the western entrance to the Gulf of Tarentum. Why T. set these two poems in southern Italy is unclear; it is not impossible that he associated such rustic meetings with a particularly localised tradition of poetic *agon*.

reference to this myth, just as he avoided reference to the story of the Pylian foundation of Metapontum.

According to Eustathius *ad loc.* the river was named after a hunter who fell into its waters while chasing after a deer, but this account is not related in any other surviving source.

As a means of illustrating the devastation wrought upon Croton after Pyrrhus' arrival, Livy states that the river which had once run through the centre of the city, now flowed past (24, 3).

371 ἔνθα κεν αἰπὺν ἴδοιο : for κεν with the potential optative ἴδοιο in the same *sedes* see esp. Aratus' descriptions of the 'Crown' (*Phaen.* 573):

ἥμισυ μὲν κεν ἴδοιο μετήορον, . . .

and the 'Altar' (*Phaen.* 709-10):

τοῦ καὶ περιτελλομένοιο

ἐσπερόθεν κεν ἴδοιο Θυτήριον, . . .

Cf. D.'s description of Alexandria at ll. 256-7 (οὐκ ἄν . . . / . . ἴδοιο) and above on 256-8 for the allusion to Callim.' description of the Artemisium at Ephesus in *Hymn* 3.

Λακινιάδος δόμον Ἥρης : the temple of Hera Lacinia was situated on Cape Lacinium (now Capo Colonna), to the southeast of Croton. According to Livy the temple was more famous than Croton itself (24, 3), and certainly the extant sources confirm that it was of wide renown (e.g., Lycophron 856ff.; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 701f.; Virgil, *Aen.* 551f.; Strabo 6, 1, 11). Livy attests that in his time the temple was still as famous for its wealth as for its sanctity, but for Strabo its wealth was a thing of the past (*locc. citt.*).

Many scholars now hold that the Italiote League originally met at the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia.²⁴⁴ Polybius provides the earliest reference to this League (2, 39, 1ff.). He describes it as formed by Croton, Caulonia and Sybaris and modelled upon the Achaean League, which met at the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios in Aegium. Like the Achaean League, Polybius tells us, the Italiote League also held its meetings at a sanctuary of Zeus Homarios. However, the location of this Italian Homarion has yet to be identified.²⁴⁵ The Italiote League seems to have been joined by other Greek cities, such as Metapontum and Tarentum in response to the threat from Dionysius I of Syracuse and the Lucani in the early years of the fourth century B.C. (see Diod. Sic. 14, 91ff.; Justin 20, 2, 3ff.). Croton's prominence in the literary sources suggests that she had an important place in the League, although none in fact describes her as *hegemon*. The city was occupied by Dionysius I in 391/0 B.C. after which the same League, it seems, was reformed under the leadership of Tarentum, its meeting place being transferred to Heracleia in Tarentine territory (see Strabo 6, 3, 4).

αἰπὺν . . . δόμον : D. may have had in mind here Ap. Rhod. 3, 238:

λέχρις δ' αἰπύτεροι δόμοι ἔστασαν ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
Campbell *ad loc.* cites Nonnus, *Dion.* 4, 13 (δόμον αἰπύδητον) and Colluthus 235-6 (αἰπύδητα . . . δώματα), but not D.

²⁴⁴See esp. G. De Sensi Sensito, 'Il santuario del Lacinio nella Lega achea ed italiota', *Miscellanea di Studi Storici II* (Cosenza, 1982), pp. 28ff.; *id.* 'La funzione politica dell'Heraion del Lacinio al tempo delle lotte contro i Lucani e Dionisio I' in M. Sordi (ed.) *I santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico* (Milan, 1984), pp. 45ff.; K. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks 350BC - AD 200* (London, New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 31f.; P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente* (Paris, 1939), pp. 64ff.

²⁴⁵See Walbank *ad loc.*

372-7 This passage offers one of the clearest examples of D.'s use of textual parallels to suggest geographical parallels. It looks both back to the description of the northern shores of Libya at 208-13 and forward to the description of the Peloponnese at 410-13. Consider:

Κεῖνον δ' ἄν περὶ χῶρον ἐρημωθέντα μέλαθρα
ἀνδρῶν ἀθρήσειας ἀποφθιμένων Νασαμώνων,
οὓς Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντας ἀπώλεσεν Αὔσονις αἰχμή.
'Ασβύσται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι μεσήπειροι τελέθουσιν
καὶ τέμενος Λιβυκοῖο θεοῦ ψαμάθω ὕπο πολλῇ,
Κυρήνη τ' εὐίππος, 'Αμυκλαίων ἔδος ἀνδρῶν
(208-13)

Ἔστι δέ τοι κάκεῖθι, Διὸς μέγα χωσαμένοιο,
δειλαίη Σύβαρις, ναέτας στενάχουσα πεσόντας,
μηναμένους ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἐπ' 'Αλφειοῦ γεράεσσιν.
Σαυνῖται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι μέσσην χθόνα ναιετάουσι
καὶ Μαρσῶν θοὰ φῦλα· Τάρας δ' ἄλὸς ἐγγύθι κεῖται,
ἦν ποτ' 'Αμυκλαίων ἐπολίσσατο καρτερὸς ἼΑρης.
(372-77)

ἐνθ' ἐρατεινότατος ποταμῶν 'Αλφειὸς ὀδεύει,
σχιζόμενος προχοῇσι Μεσηνίου Εὐρώταο,
οἷτ' ἄμφω 'Ασέηθεν ἀναφλύουσι ῥέεθρα·
ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἡλείων, ὁ δ' 'Αμυκλαίων χθόνα τέμνει.
(410-13)

In the two earlier passages D. not only draws a parallel between Tarentum and Cyrene as Spartan colonies, but also between the

Sybarites and the Nasamones, both punished for their impiety, in accordance with the will of Zeus. According to D.'s description of the world, Sybaris sits almost directly opposite the Cyrenaica, and Dionysius seems to draw these parallels in order to reflect the parallelism of their geographical locations. Similarly, in his description of the destruction of the Sybarites D. evokes the River Alpheius, sitting on the other side of the Aegean, almost exactly opposite the 'toe' of Italy and Sybaris. The waters of the Alpheius were of course widely held to connect with those of the Sicilian Arethusa (see below on 372-4), which might perhaps have suggested the parallel to D.

372-4 Sybaris was another Achaean foundation which was located between the rivers Sybaris and Crathis, to the north of Croton on the Tarentine Gulf (Strabo 6, 1, 13; Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 11, 97). Various authors offer various accounts of the destruction of the city by Croton, and the reasons behind it. A theme common to many of these accounts is the decadence and impiety of the Sybarites.²⁴⁶ Indeed Strabo tells us only that the city was destroyed by the Crotoniates within seventy days ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ὕβρεως (*loc. cit.*). Similarly Diod. Sic. asserts that the Sybarites had entered upon a πόλεμον ἄδικον and their defeat therefore served as a warning example τοῦ πολὺ μᾶλλον δεῖν προσέχειν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις εὐτυχίαις ἢ περ ἐν ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις (10, 23). Later he offers a more detailed account of the war (12, 9ff.). He states that Sybaris had been a wealthy and populous city, with 300,000 inhabitants, until a demagogue by the name of Telys persuaded its inhabitants to exile the 500 wealthiest citizens. These

²⁴⁶ Another theme common to many accounts is the reaction of either the temple or statue of Hera, symbolizing the outrage of the gods. In some the temple of the goddess is said to issue blood, in others her statue is said to avert its eyes.

exiles apparently went to Croton where they took refuge as suppliants by the altars in the *agora*. Telys threatened war against the Crotoniates should they not surrender these exiles. The Crotoniates, however, were persuaded by Pythagoras to accept war on behalf of the suppliants and defeated the Sybarites, despite their greater numbers. Sybaris itself, Diod. Sic. says, was left totally deserted: τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιατῶν διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ζωγρεῖν μὲν μηδένα βουλευθέντων πάντας δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας ἀποκτεινόντων οἱ πλείους κατεκόπησαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν καὶ παντελῶς ἔρημον ἐποίησαν (cf. Strabo 6, 1, 13 for the Crotoniates as diverting the river to submerge Sybaris). Another story illustrating the impiety of the Sybarites, and linking this with the city's destruction by Croton, is related by Aelian (*V. H.* 3, 43). Aelian describes a singing contest held in honour of Hera at which the Sybarites attacked a cithara-player, killing him at the altars of the goddess where he had taken refuge. When soon afterwards blood poured from Hera's temple, the Sybarites sent a delegation to Delphi, and were told by the Pythia that they would be punished by the gods for having murdered a servant of the Muses.²⁴⁷ Divine justice, Aelian tells us, came in the form of the defeat of the Sybarites by the Crotoniates. Athenaeus and Stephanus Byzantius record an oracle in which the Sybarites were warned against impiety (*Ath.* 12, 520a-b; *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Σύβαρις. See also Eustathius *ad loc.*). According to this oracle Sybaris would prosper as long as she honoured the gods, but when she honoured a mortal before a god, she would suffer war and internal discord.²⁴⁸ The prophecy is said to have

²⁴⁷Parke and Wormell 74.

²⁴⁸εὐδαίμων, Συβαρίτα, πανευδαίμων σὺ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐν θαλίῃσιν ἔσῃ, τιμῶν γένος αἰέν ἔόντων. εὖτ' ἂν δὲ πρότερον θνητὸν θεοῦ ἄνδρα σεβίσσης τηνίκα σοι πόλεμός τε καὶ ἔμφυλος στάσις ἥξει.

been fulfilled when an inhabitant of the city failed to stop flogging a slave before a shrine to one of the gods but did do so on reaching his father's grave, a tradition which Priscian seems to have found attached to this passage.²⁴⁹ Athenaeus proceeds to offer different versions of the events leading up to the destruction of the city, each involving acts of ὕβρις on the part of its inhabitants. According to one the Sybarites murdered thirty ambassadors from Croton and were subsequently destroyed by the Crotoniates (12, 521d-e = Phylarchus *FGrHist* 81 F45). In the account attributed to Heracleides of Pontus the Sybarites murdered those who had taken sides with Telys at the steps of the altars in the *agora* (12, 521e-f = *FHG* II 199). It is at the end of Heracleides' account that there appears an allusion to another story of the ὕβρις of the Sybarites, the story to which D. perhaps refers here. The Sybarites are described as having established a festival to compete with that of the Olympians: καθ' ὃν γὰρ ἄγεται καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἄθλων ὑπερβολῇ ὥς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς ἀθλητάς. According to Timaeus it was in fact the Crotoniates who tried to outshine the festival at Olympia by instituting their own games to coincide with those at Olympia, in which they offered prizes of silver (12, 522c-d = Timaeus *FGrHist* 566 F45). Athenaeus, however, indicates that Heracleides was not alone in attributing this act of ὕβρις to the Sybarites.²⁵⁰

By describing the Sybarites as 'mad for Alpheius' honours' (μηναμένους ὑπὲρ αἴσαν ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ γεράεσσιν), D. then

²⁴⁹ See also Priscian 365f.:

*Post haec est Sybaris, periit quae numinis ira,
praeponens hominum tumulos coelestibus aris.*

²⁵⁰ On the sacrosanctity of the Olympic festival see Pausanias 5, 10, 1: Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐν Ἑλλάσιν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι θαύματος ἄξια μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἐλευσῖνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος. The games were said to have been divine in origin, and according to one tradition Zeus had instituted them in honour of his victory over Cronos (Paus. 5. 7. 6ff.). See also Pausanias 5, 10-12 on the famous temple to Zeus at Olympia, and esp. 5, 12, 6 on the statue of Hadrian which stood there.

appears to allude to this story of their attempt to outdo the festival at Olympia, which was situated on the River Alpheius. However, the scholia and Eustathius *ad loc.* offer alternative explanations of D.'s reference to the Alpheius. According to the scholia the Sybarites wanted the Olympian festival to be transferred to their own territory διὰ τὸν Ἀλφειοῦ πόθον εἰς Ἀρέθουσιν. Arethusa was the name of a spring in Syracuse with which the Alpheius was thought to connect (see Ovid, *Met.* 5, 572ff.; Paus. 5, 7, 2-3; Pindar, *Nem.* 1, 1f.; Verg. *Aen.* 3, 694ff. and Servius *ad loc.*). The scholia also indicate that the Sybarites stole offerings made to Alpheius in Syracuse and that the city was destroyed as a result of the river-god's anger, while Eustathius claims that the offerings were stolen from a shrine to the river-god in the Peloponnese. Although it is possible that D. might have had either one of these accounts in mind, the fact that he specifies that it was Zeus who had been angered by the Sybarites seems to suggest rather that he is alluding to their attempt to eclipse the Olympian festival held in his honour.²⁵¹

Both the scholia and Eustathius include an account of how the Sybarites were defeated by the Crotoniates. The Sybarites, it is said, had reached such a level of τρυφή that they had taught their horses to dance to the *aulos*, so that, when they went into battle, the playing of the *auloi* by the Crotoniates, according to the scholia, or the din of the battle itself, according to Eustathius, caused the horses to throw the Sybarites to the ground, killing them (cf. Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* 16, 23, τὸν πόλεμον ἐξωρχήσαντο; Aristotle F 600, 1 = Athenaeus 12, 520c and F 600, 2 = Julianus Africanus cest. 14, p. 293 for the horses

²⁵¹ See also Pseudo-Scymnus' version of the story at 337ff.: σπεῦσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ὅπως ἀγῶνα καταλύσωσι, τὰς τε τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέλωσι τιμὰς τῇδε τῇ παρευρέσει ἀδρόμισθον Διὶ γυμνικὸν τιν' ἐπετέλουν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν Ἡλείοις, ἵνα πᾶς τις πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐπάλθοις ἀγόμενος σπεύδοι καταντᾶν, ἀπολιπὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

as dancing over to the side of Croton). D. himself, however, makes no mention of the battle between the Sybarites and Crotoniates. It is interesting that he represents the defeat of the Sybarites as the will of the gods, without reference to the Crotoniates as the agents of that divine will.²⁵² Not surprisingly perhaps, D. reserves the role of divine agent for Rome, whose defeat of the Nasamones is represented as just punishment for the impiety of this people (see on 210 above).

After the destruction of the city by the Crotoniates the site of Sybaris was resettled by the surviving inhabitants and colonists from Athens and other parts of Greece, it seems, who later moved it to another site, renaming it Thurii (see Diod. Sic. 12, 10; Strabo 6, 1, 13). Thurii was then itself renamed Copiae by the Romans who apparently sent their own colonists there after the population of the city had been diminished by Lucanian and Tarentine occupations (Strabo *loc. cit.*). This Latin colony may never have attained the wealth or fame of Sybaris, but, nevertheless, D.'s decision to omit any mention of Thurii/Copiae from his description of southern Italy, while including the Greek settlement, provides a clear example of the Hellenocentrism of his portrayal of the world.

372 μέγα χωσαμένοιο : these words may echo Stesichorus S 91, 3 (*PMGF*), attributed to the *Iliou Persis*:] μέγα χωσαμ[εν-.²⁵³

374 ὑπὲρ αἴσαν : = 'beyond due measure'. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 3, 59; 6, 333 etc. D. seems to point to the lack of σωφροσύνη to which the downfall of the Sybarites was commonly attributed.

²⁵²On the representation of the Crotoniates as agents of the gods in their destruction of Sybaris see A. Mele, 'Crotone e la sua storia' in *Atti del XXIII Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1983* (Naples, 1984), pp. 32ff.

²⁵³On the attribution see D.L. Page, 'Stesichorus: The "Sack of Troy" and "The Wooden Horse" (P. Oxy. 2619 and 2803)', *PCPS* 19 (1973), pp. 47ff.

375 Σαυνῖται : as Strabo states (5, 4, 12), this was the Greek name for the ‘Samnites’. They were said to have been descended from the Sabines, and Strabo provides a detailed account of their origins (*loc. cit.*). He tells us that, after defeating the Ombrici, the Sabines had made sacrifices and dedications in thanks for their victory, but were subsequently struck by a famine. This was explained by the fact that, since they had vowed to dedicate all that was produced that year, they should have dedicated the children also. They, therefore, dedicated all the children born in that year to Ares and later sent them away as colonists with a bull to guide the way. The bull settled in the land of the Opici, who were ejected by the Sabines. Finally the bull was sacrificed to Ares, who had given the animal as a guide to the colonists. The role played by Ares in this myth of origins may indicate why D. places the Samnites and Marsi together here.²⁵⁴ In the same passage Strabo goes on to refer to a tradition that Spartans had settled among the Samnites, a tradition invented, he suggests, by the Tarentines as a means of securing the friendship of their Samnite neighbours.²⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the Samnites are listed among those peoples who came to Italy from the east by Justin (20, 1, 15),²⁵⁶ and a Spartan ancestry is attributed elsewhere to the Sabines (see esp. Cato, *Orig.* 2, 22 = Servius *ad Aen.* 8, 638; Dion. Hal. 2, 49, 4f.; Ovid, *Fasti*

²⁵⁴See D. Musti 1988, *op. cit.* (above n. 236), p. 200: quando si dice che questi fanciulli, accantonati per un *ver sacrum* sono denominati da Ares, cioè da Marte, non si può non pensare anche ai Marsi. Il passo contiene dunque una potenzialità di correlazione ultima tra Marsi e Sanniti. Cf. Strabo 5, 4, 2 and Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 110 for a similar account of the origins of the Picentes. On the Sabine/Samnite myths of the ‘Sacred Springs’ see Dench, *op. cit.* (above n. 120), pp. 185f.

²⁵⁵For discussion of this passage and relations between Samnium and Tarentum see Dench, *op. cit.* (above n. 120), pp. 53ff. Cf. 5, 3, 1 for Strabo’s view that the Sabines were actually an autochthonous people.

²⁵⁶See also Musti 1988, *op. cit.* (above n. 236), p.204. He goes further, suggesting that there is an allusion in Justin’s description of the Tarentines as ‘quos Lacedaemone profectos spuriosque vocatos accepimus’ to an analogous relationship between an account of the origins of Tarentum (see below on 377) and the myths of the Sacred Springs, linking the Samnites and Tarentines.

I, 259-60; Plutarch, *Rom.* 16, 1 and *Numa* 1, 5).²⁵⁷ It is tempting, therefore, to see in D.'s collocation of the Samnites, Marsi and Tarentines a suggestion of this common ancestry (see below).

According to Strabo the once powerful Samnites were totally subdued and their cities reduced to villages, if not utterly destroyed, by the campaigns led against them by the Romans, and in particular by Sulla in the first century B.C. (5, 4, 11). D.'s reference to them is, therefore, another example of anachronism.

μέσσην χθόνα : it has been shown that definitions of the Samnites and, therefore, of the territory occupied by them differed greatly.²⁵⁸ If the Samnites are identified with the Sabines, then this places some of them at least as far north as Rome. According to Cato the first Sabine settlement was called Testruna and was situated near Amiternum, that is to the east of Rome near L'Aquila in modern Abruzzo (*Orig.* 2, 21 = Dion. Hal. 2, 49, 2f.). He adds that their territory lay 280 stades from the Adriatic coast and about 240 from the Tyrrhenian, and was just under 1, 000 stades in length. At the same time the Tarentine account of the Spartan origins of their 'neighbours' is most likely to have been meant to flatter the Lucanians on their borders, who, as noted above on D. 362, Strabo described as colonists (ἄποικοι) of the Samnites.²⁵⁹ Similarly, it is possible that D. is here referring to the Lucani under the name 'Samnites', despite the fact that he mentions the Lucani separately at 362. Musti holds that the

²⁵⁷Cato, *Orig.* 2, 22 is quoted below. Cf. Cato *Orig.* 2, 21 = Dion. Hal. 2, 49, 2 for the tradition that Sabus was the son of Sancus, a local divinity, and the Sabines therefore indigenous. However, Sancus was also identified with Heracles, see Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5, 66.

²⁵⁸See Dench, *loc. cit.*, pp. 207ff.

²⁵⁹Dench remarks (*op. cit.* [above n. 120], p. 207): the Tarentines' neighbours are more obviously the Lucanians than the Samnites, and it seems unlikely that the Tarentines would have chosen arbitrarily the name of the 'neighbours' they wanted to flatter. And indeed, within the whole tradition of the Spartan ancestry of various Italian peoples, Sabines, Samnites and Lucanians are included.

Again the Brettii, themselves colonists of the Lucani according to Strabo (see above on 362), seem to have been included under the term 'Samnites' by Pseudo-Scylax, see *FGrHist* 566 F 41-2.

words of Justin at 20, 1, 15 (*quid Brutti Sabinique? quid Samnites?*) in fact indicate that this author thought Samnium to extend from the Sabines in the north as far south as the Brettii.²⁶⁰ Indeed D. too may call ‘Samnites’ all those peoples of the central and southern Apennines, including the Lucani and Brettii. However, this does not explain why he mentions the Marsi here. Musti has suggested that D. links the Samnites and Marsi because they had been joined in alliance against Rome during the Social War, otherwise known of course as the ‘Marsic War’.²⁶¹ As noted above, the name ‘Marsi’ itself is suggestive of a connection with the Samnites whom, according to the myth of the Sacred Spring, the Sabines ‘dedicated’ (ἐπεφήμισαν) to Ares. Nevertheless, that D. had reason to connect the Samnites and Marsi does not in itself explain the fact that in his progression along the coastal ‘heel’ of Italy, between Sybaris and Tarentum, he leaps inland as far as the central Apennines, where the Marsi were situated (see below on 376). That he relocates Metapontum to the area between Locri and Croton (see above on 369) seems to indicate that D. deliberately arranged his description of the southern peninsula to give the sequence Sybaris—Samnites—Marsi—Tarentum. Why?

It may be that the connection which the Samnites and Marsi shared with Ares offers a clue as to the explanation. Tarentum too is linked by D. with Ares. In fact the city is said to have been founded by καρτερὸς Ἴσχυρος Ἀμυκλαίων (see below on 377). The reference is to the Spartan ancestry of Tarentum, but it also points to a definition of what it meant to be Spartan, that is war-like and καρτερός, both

²⁶⁰See Musti 1988, *op. cit.* (above n. 236), p. 204: l’aspetto più importante del brano consiste nel fatto che la convivenza tra Spartani e Sanniti è per Pompeo Trogo-Giustino (o per la sua fonte) un dato pertinente ad una nozione più vasta di Sanniti, nozione secondo cui i Sanniti, i Frentani, gli Irpini, i Lucani, i Brettii e gli stessi Sabini formano una complessa unità.

²⁶¹Musti 1988, *op. cit.* (above n. 236), pp. 208-9. See also Appian, *B.C.* 1, 39, 75 for the list of Italic peoples who joined forces against Rome in the Social War, and Gabba *ad loc.* (E. Gabba, *Appiani Liber primus* (Florence, 1958), pp. 128f.).

physically and mentally.²⁶² In the words attributed to Cato by Servius on the Spartan ancestry of the Sabines, it is the Spartan quality of being *durus* which the Sabines are said to have inherited, and the Romans themselves imitated: *Porro Lacedaemonios durissimos fuisse omnis lectio docet. Sabinorum etiam mores populum Romanum secutum idem Cato dicit: merito ergo 'severis', qui et a duris parentibus orti sunt, et quorum disciplinam victores Romani in multis secuti sunt.* (Cato, *Orig.* 2, 22 = Servius, *ad Aen.* 8, 638: *Romulidis Titoque seni Curibusque severis*).²⁶³

By linking this quality with Ares D. seems to attribute such Spartan *duritia* not only to the Tarentines but also to the Samnites and Marsi, both, if in different ways, ἐπιφημισθέντες Ἄρει. By linking the god with Sparta he may also be alluding to the possible attribution of a Spartan ancestry to all of these peoples. Furthermore, given the associations of each with καρτερὸς Ἄρης, it is tempting to see in the order of D.'s description a deliberate contrast between these Samnites, Marsi and Tarentines, and the Sybarites, whose μαλακία and lack of σωφροσύνη led to their destruction.²⁶⁴ Whether or not this contrast was intended, D.'s jump inland from Sybaris to the Central Apennines before turning to Tarentum is perhaps at least partly explained by the connections he makes between the Samnites, Marsi and Tarentines through Ares and possibly Sparta.

²⁶²Cf. Avienus, *D. O.* 524: Amyclaei suboles praedura tyranni.

For Spartan cultivation of ἀνδρεία and σωφροσύνη see also Polybius 6, 48. Hadrian himself too refers to the virtues associated with the Spartans in his speech to the Cyreneans (Λα[κωνικὴ] σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀσκη[σις]), see J.H. Oliver 1989, *op. cit.* (above n. 157), no. 122, ll. 36ff and 42f..

²⁶³On the qualities which came to be associated with ancient Sparta, and the development of the 'Spartan legend' see E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity*, 2 vols, (2nd edn.: Uppsala, 1974).

²⁶⁴It is interesting to note that D. seems to make the immediate cause of Sybaris' ruin the impiety shown by its inhabitants in attempting to surpass the festival at Olympia (see above on 372-4). This festival was said to have been re-established, after a period of suspension, by Lycurgus, the renowned Spartan lawmaker (see Pausanias 5, 4, 5f.; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 1, 1f.; 23, 3).

On the moral dimension to the kinship ties drawn between the Tarentines, the Italic peoples and Sparta see Dench, *op. cit.* (above n. 120), pp. 56ff.

376 Μαρσῶν θοὰ φῦλα : the Marsi inhabited the basin of land around Lake Fucinus in the Central Apennines (Livy 26, 11, 11; Strabo 5, 3, 13). Strabo describes them as a small in numbers, but very brave nevertheless, as had been witnessed by the Romans who had fought both with them and against them (5, 4, 2). He adds that they had instigated the Social War, hence also known as the ‘Marsic War’, in a bid for political rights which they attained after two years, when they were granted the Roman citizenship (*loc. cit.*).²⁶⁵ The bravery of the Marsi is also attested by Appian (see *B. C.* 1, 46, 203), and indeed after the Social War they are regularly characterised by ἀνδρεία (see also, e.g., Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 12, 106; Virgil, *Aen.* 7, 752).²⁶⁶

The Marsi are also invested with a certain exoticism, both before and after the Social War. They were said to have come from Lydia (Gnaeus Gellius *Fr.* 9 Peter = Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 12, 108), and their ruler was said to have been the son of Medea (Gellius *Fr.* 8 Peter = Solinus 2, 28). What is more, Gellius tells us that Medea’s sister, Angitia, dwelled in the region around Lake Fucinus where she practised healing snake-bites (*loc. cit.*), an art which is still associated with the Marsi themselves as late as the second century A.D. (see Galen 12, 316-17 Kühn *et al.*). Nevertheless, D. omits any reference to the tradition of their Lydian ancestry, as he does in the case of the

²⁶⁵On the history of the Marsi and their relations with Rome see C. Letta, *I Marsi e il Fucino nell’ antichità* (Milan, 1972).

²⁶⁶See Dench, *op. cit.* (above n. 120), pp. 105f.: As a result of the enfranchisement of the peoples of the Central Apennines such as the Marsi, and Paeligni, and of Sulla’s violent action against the Samnites in the course of the 80s B.C., these areas could become a moral resource for Rome . . . The Marsi, Paeligni, and *Sabelli* are now representatives also of a desirable masculinity, valiant providers of troops for Rome, a service which can be safely acknowledged when it is no longer feared that such power will be used against Rome. The emphasis on the masculinity of Sabines, *Sabelli*, Marsi, and Paeligni after their incorporation is very interesting: this masculinity represents acknowledged power which is expected to be used reliably and in a controlled way in the interests of Rome.

Tyrrheni too (see above on 347), and avoids characterising the Marsi as exotic altogether.

The epithet *θοός* is commonly attached to Ares (see, e.g., *Il.* 5, 430 *et al.*) and warriors generally (see, e.g., *Il.* 5, 571 *et al.*). It therefore reinforces the sense that D. is here alluding to a connection between the Marsi and Ares himself.

Τάρας δ' ἄλὸς ἐγγύθι κεῖται : Tarentum was built on a peninsula between inner and outer harbours (today known respectively as the Mare Piccolo and Mare Grande), as Strabo tells us (6, 3, 1). The larger part of the city, he adds, had been deserted after the Hannibalic War, but the remaining area, the area around the acropolis at the mouth of the inner harbour, he tells us, was still large in his time. Strabo also claims that, after the establishment of a Roman colony there, Tarentum's inhabitants lived peacefully and comfortably (6, 3, 4). Indeed Horace's words at *Ode* 2, 6, 9ff. reveal that Tarentum had by the first century B.C. become a quiet country retreat.²⁶⁷

The final clausula, ἐγγύθι κεῖται, occurs in the same *sedes* at Homer, *Od.* 24, 358. Cf. *Od.* 7, 29; Hesiod, *Op.* 288, 343, and 700 (ἐγγύθι ναίει).

377 ἦν ποτ' Ἀμυκλαίων ἐπολίσσατο καρτερὸς ἼΑρης :

Tarentum was said to have been founded by Spartan colonists after the first Messenian War. These colonists are referred to as 'Partheniae', and there have survived various accounts of their origins and the reasons behind the Tarentine settlement.

Strabo reports two of these accounts (6, 3, 2f.). The first he attributes to Antiochus of Syracuse. According to this account those

²⁶⁷See Nisbet and Hubbard *ad loc.*: The area was regarded as a land of wine (19n.) and honey (14n.), of milky water (10n.) and fertile greenery . . . , where the atmosphere was conspicuously leisured and Greek.

who did not join the Spartan expedition against Messenia were regarded as slaves and named 'Helots'. Any children born to these Helots were named 'Partheniae' and deprived of the rights of citizenship. Angered by this the Partheniae planned a revolt against the free citizens, who, however, learned of this and sent certain men to infiltrate the Partheniae and to report back what was being plotted against them. Among the infiltrators apparently was a man named Phalanthus. The Partheniae planned to attack at the Hyacinthia, at the temple of Apollo in Amyclae.²⁶⁸ The signal was to be given by Phalanthus, who was to raise his cap. This was reported to the free citizens so that the herald at the games refused to allow Phalanthus to wear any cap. The Partheniae, who realized that their plot had been uncovered, begged for mercy and were taken into custody. Meanwhile Phalanthus was sent to consult the Delphic oracle about the founding of a colony. He was told to settle Tarentum, and the Partheniae joined him in founding the colony (Antiochus *FGrHist* 555 F13 = Strabo 6, 3, 2).

Eustathius on D. 376 tells us that there were also different versions of the manner in which the Partheniae were expatriated. Some, he writes, claimed that the Spartans who returned from Messenia simply expelled these illegitimate offspring, and some that the Partheniae were persuaded to leave. This last version of events forms part of the account of Tarentum's foundation provided by the scholia on D. 377, which is almost identical to the account attributed by Strabo to Ephorus.

²⁶⁸On the celebration of the Hyacinthia at Amyclae see Athenaeus 4, 139dff.; Pausanias 3, 19, 2f.

It is possible that D. is alluding to the revolt of the Partheniae when he describes Tarentum as founded by 'Ares of the Amyclaeans', although it seems unlikely, given that he consistently uses 'Amyclaeon' for 'Spartan' throughout the poem (see above on 213). However, see P. Wuilleumier, (*op. cit.* [above n. 244], pp. 42f.), who acknowledges that the term 'Amyclaeon' was used by later poets of Tarentum 'par une affectation d'archaïsme', but also suggests that the founders of Tarentum did in fact come from Amyclae.

According to this account the Spartans sent their youngest and strongest men home from the Messenian expedition to beget as many children as possible. The illegitimate offspring, the Partheniae, however, were refused the rights of citizens. Therefore they joined with the Helots in plotting against the Spartans, but their plan was betrayed by some of these same Helots. When they realized this they refrained from any attack. The Spartans, who believed a counter-attack would be unwise given that the Helots were a large and united force, then persuaded them to found a colony, where they should stay, if it satisfied them, returning to receive a share in Messenia if it did not (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F216 = Strabo 6, 3, 3).

According to the scholia it was explicitly fear which led the Spartans to persuade the revolted to found their own colony. Similar accounts appear in Diod. Sic. (15, 66, 3), Dion. Hal. (19, 1, 2f.) and Justin (3, 4), and Polybius also alludes to a version of events in which the Partheniae were fathered by Spartans sent home from the Messenian expedition for this express purpose, rather than by the Helots (see 12, 6, b5).

Yet another account of the fathering of the Partheniae is given by Theopompus, who asserts that the Spartans made the Helots have intercourse with the widows of soldiers who had died in the Messenian War, so that the enemy would not learn that they had lost men. These Helots, he tells us, were later named ἐπειυνάκτοι (Theopompus *FGrHist* 115F 171 = Athenaeus 6, 271c-d).²⁶⁹

Despite the differences in these accounts, however, all agree that the founders of Tarentum were the Spartans' illegitimate offspring, the 'Partheniae'. It is interesting that D. makes no reference to these Partheniae. This appears all the more surprising in light of the fact that

²⁶⁹For discussion of the various accounts of the origins of the Partheniae offered by the ancient sources see Musti 1988, *op. cit.* (above n. 236), pp. 157ff.

he does allude to the similar tradition of the equally humble origins of the Locri Epizephyrii (see above on 365f.). However, he describes Tarentum as founded by Ares himself, rather than by the Partheniae. It may be that in making Ares the founder of Tarentum D. is alluding to the fact that the colony was said to have been established as a result of the Messenian War. It is also possible that there is an allusion in these words to the tradition, reported by Ephorus (*loc. cit.*), whereby the Spartan colonists, on their arrival in Italy, joined the Achaeans in their war against the indigenous peoples of the peninsula. Nevertheless, D. chooses to describe Tarentum by reference to the war-like characteristics of its Spartan founders, which seems to indicate that he wished to attribute to the Tarentines the martial qualities associated with the ancient Spartans (see above on 375).

ἐπολίσσατο: see Homer, *Il.* 7, 453; Ap. Rhod. 1, 178 *et al.* for this form of the aorist. D.'s use of the middle seems to suggest that Ares not only built Tarentum but inhabited it also. Cf. D. 815:

Ἰλιον, ἣν ἐπόλισσε Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων.

378-9 Καλαβρίδος . . . φῦλα τ' Ἰηπύγων : according to Strabo Calabria was the name given by the native inhabitants to the region extending eastward from Metapontium, the 'heel' of Italy, discounting, however, the very tip of the peninsula, which they called Salentina. He adds that this entire region was known to the Greeks as Messapia, although he himself names it Iapygia (6, 3, 1). Later he remarks that the names Calabria and Salentina were also used of the peninsula as a whole (6, 3, 5. See similarly Pliny, *N.H.* 3, 11, 99f.).

The region was said to have been colonized by Cretans (see Hdt. 7, 170; Strabo 6, 3, 2; 6, 3, 5f.). One of the Cretan colonies, Strabo tells us, was Brentesium (Brindisi) on the Adriatic coast, which he

describes as having better harbours than Tarentum. He knows that even before the extension of the Appian Way under Trajan, Brentesium was already the preferred point of passage between Rome and the East (6, 3, 7), so that it seems somewhat surprising that D. omits any reference to it.

379 μέσφ’: the adverb is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* (*Il.* 8, 508: μέσφ’ ἠοῦς). See also Callim. *Hymn* 4, 47; Aratus 599, 725 and 807.

379-80 Ὑρίοιο/ ... Ὑρίου : on D.’s liking for epanalepsis see above on 248-9.

A Cretan colony by the name of Hyria (Ὑρίη) is located in Iapygia by Hdt. (7, 170). Strabo suggests that this settlement should be identified either with Uria (Οὐρία), situated inland between Tarentum and Brentesium, or with Veretum (Οὐερητόν), formerly Baris, a town on the Tarentine Gulf near the southernmost tip of the Iapygian promontory (6, 3, 5-6). It may be that D.’s Hyrion is the latter of these towns, given that he describes it as situated on the coast. However, Strabo also refers to another town by the similar name of Urium (Οὐρίον) in Apulia (6, 3, 9. See also Mela 2, 4, and esp. Pliny, *N. H.*, 3, 11, 99 for Apulian Uria as distinct from Uria Messapia). He locates this Urium on the northern shores of the Garganum Promontory, opposite the Islands of Diomedes. D. situates these same islands off the coast of Iapygia (480ff.), which suggests that he may in fact here mean the Apulian Urium.²⁷⁰ It is also possible that he means the Garganum Promontory itself, cf. pseudo-Scylax 14: μετὰ δὲ τὴν

²⁷⁰On this identification see, *RE* 9A (1961), coll. 1009-10.

Λευκανίαν Ἰαπυγές εἰσιν ἔθνος μέχρι Ὠρίωνος ὄρους τοῦ ἐν
τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Ἀδρια.²⁷¹

380 παραλίας : see on 253 above.

τόθι : for the use of the adverb as a relative see, e.g., Theoc. 22, 199 (and Gow *ad loc.*); Ap. Rhod. 4, 1131 (and Livrea *ad loc.*).

381 ἀγχίπορον : this is the earliest extant occurrence of this adjective. Later see A. P. (Agathias) 10, 64, 2; Nonnus, *Dion.* 5, 38 *et al.* (13x). However, compounds with -πορος are not rare, see above on 301 (πενταπόροις). Similarly, compounds with ἀγχι- are common, cf., e.g., ἀγχιβαθής (Homer, *Od.* 5, 413; Ap. Rhod. 4, 1572 etc.); ἀγχίρροος (Ap. Rhod. 2, 367; 963).

Ἀκυλήιον : Aquileia was founded as a Latin colony in 181 B.C. (Livy 40, 34). Situated at the extreme north of the Adriatic in the territory of the Carni and Norici (see Strabo, 4, 6, 9), it was incorporated into Italy with the rest of Cisalpine Gaul in 42 B.C. (Appian, *B. C.* 5, 3, 21), and under Augustus was made part of the tenth region of Venetia at Histria (see *C. I. L.* 5. 1, 1582). Its excellent harbour facilities made Aquileia an important centre for trade in imperial times, and it became one of the largest cities in the world (see Strabo 5, 1, 8f.; Eustathius on D. 378). D.'s cursory reference to this important city provides a striking contrast to his extended mention of the obscure Ὑριον. Even more striking is the fact that D. jumps from Iapygia to the far north of the Adriatic coast, omitting any mention of those regions in between, such as Apulia, Picenum, Samnium, and Umbria.

²⁷¹T. P. Wiseman, commenting on Catullus 36, 12 (*Uriosque apertos*) and arguing that Catullus' Urii should itself be identified with Urium or Uria on the north of the promontory, does assume that D. is referring to Monte Gargano (*Catullan Questions* [Leicester, 1969], pp. 43ff.).

382 ἄστυ Τεγεστραίων : the earliest reference to Trieste is by Artemidorus who describes it simply as a κώμη (= Steph. Byz. s.v. Τέγεστρα). Strabo similarly tells us that it was a ‘village’ of the Carni (7, 5, 2), although by his time a Roman colony had already been established on the site of this earlier settlement. The date of Trieste’s foundation as a Roman colony is disputed. An inscription reveals that there were walls built under Octavian in 33 B.C. (*C. I. L.* 5, 525). This has been assumed to be the date of the foundation of the colony as a whole.²⁷² Degrassi, however, had argued that the walls built under Octavian were to replace or reinforce those which had left the colony vulnerable to the attacks of Illyrian tribes.²⁷³ Appian’s account of the plundering of Trieste by the Iapodes indicates that the Roman colony had in fact been established before 35 B.C. (*Ill.* 18). Degrassi suggests that it was founded in either 46 B.C., when Caesar allotted land in Italy and the provinces to his veterans, or 42/1 B.C, after the battle of Philippi. The date has been put more than a decade earlier still by those who believe that Trieste was already a Roman colony when the attack of the Iapodes reported by Aulus Hirtius took place, that is in 51 B.C. (*Comm. ad B. G.* 8, 24, 3).²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Degrassi argues that Hirtius’ account indicates not that Trieste itself was at this time a Roman colony or belonged to Cisalpine Gaul, simply that the assault on Trieste led to fears in Rome of similar attacks on those cities, such as Aquileia, which stood nearby and did belong to the province of Cisalpine Gaul.²⁷⁵ For Degrassi the foundation of the colony determined the establishment of Italy’s northeastern frontier at the

²⁷²See R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Atlas of Classical History* (Routledge: London, New York, 1985), p. 95.

²⁷³A. Degrassi, *Il Confine nordorientale dell’ Italia romana* (Diss.: Bern, 1954), p. 51.

²⁷⁴See, e.g., H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, I (Berlin, 1883), p. 77, n. 3.

²⁷⁵Degrassi, *op. cit.* (above n. 273), pp. 49f.

River Formio (the modern Risano), immediately to the south of Trieste.²⁷⁶

Trieste had originally been part of Illyricum (Mela, 2, 3, 57). It is Pliny who reveals that the Formio later served as the frontier between Italy and Illyricum (*N. H.* 3, 18, 127). However, long before the time of D. this frontier had been moved from the Formio further east, only as far as Pola according to Strabo (7, 5, 3; 5, 1, 1-9), but to the River Arsia, just east of Nesactium, according to Pliny (*N. H.* 3, 19, 129 *et al.* Cf. Ptolemy 3, 1, 23: Νέσακτιον τέλος Ἰταλίας). D.'s omission of these more eastern towns and the perfunctory way in which he refers to Trieste, a large and important centre for trade in imperial times like Aquileia (see Strabo 5, 1, 9), is in strong contrast with his more detailed account of the Greek colonies of southern Italy and thereby suggestive of the Hellenocentrism of his world-view.

μυχάτου : the earliest surviving occurrences of this form of the superlative appear in Callim. (*Hymn to Artemis*, 68; *Fr.* 256); Ap. Rhod. (1, 170 *et al.*); and Nicander (*Ther.* 11). Livrea therefore suggests that it was coined in the Hellenistic period (see on Ap. Rhod 4, 630). Cf. the Homeric *hapax legomenon* μυχοίτατος (*Od.* 21, 146).

²⁷⁶See Degrassi, *op. cit.* (above n. 273), p. 52: Se la colonia fu fondata nel 46 a.c., sarebbe stato unito all' Italia il territorio confinante di una colonia romana; se invece la fondazione della colonia deve essere attribuita al 42/41 a.c., sarebbe stato incluso entro i nuovi confini un territorio dove si stava fondando o si era deciso di fondare una colonia romana.

TRANSLATION

- To begin my song of the earth and broad sea
and the rivers and cities and countless tribes of men
I shall recall the deep-flowing Ocean. For therein
the whole world is crowned, like an immense island,
(5) not wholly circular throughout, but on either side
becoming wider²⁷⁷ towards the sun's paths,
like a sling-shot. And although it is one
men have divided it into three lands:
first Libya, and then Europe and Asia.
- (10) Well, then, Libya has a horizontal division from Europe
and, on this line, are Gades and the mouth of the Nile,
where lies the northernmost corner of Egypt
and the well-known precinct of Amyclaeon Canobus.
The Tanais divides Europe from Asia, right through the
middle.
- (15) This river, winding through the land of the Sauromatae,
sweeps to Scythia and Lake Maeotis
in the north. In the south the boundary is the Hellespont.
and the line stretches further south to the mouth of the
Nile.
- But others divide the continents according to the land.
- (20) A certain isthmus stretches above, uppermost in the
Asian land, in the middle of the Caspian and Euxine
Seas.
- This they have called the boundary of Europe and Asia.

²⁷⁷ εὐρυτέρη Tsavari: ὀξυτέρη Schol: ἡ ἐπιπολάζουσα γραφή καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν
εὕρισκομένη τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις ἡ εὐρυτέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐναντία παντελῶς τῷ σφενδόνῃ
ἐοικυῖα Eustath.: εὐρύτερα τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης βόρεια καὶ τὰ νότια Paraph.: πλατυτέρα
Avienus 16: *latior*.

- Another again, unutterably long, goes towards the south,
in the middle of the Arabian and Egyptian Gulfs,
(25) and this divides²⁷⁸ Libya from the land of Asia.
Such have mortals said about the boundaries,
but on all sides flows the might of the tireless Ocean,
one, yet endowed with many names.
Indeed by the furthest recess of the Locrian zephyr
(30) it is called the Western Atlantic, but beyond
towards the north, where dwell the children of the
war-mad Arimaspes,
they call it the Frozen and the Saturnian Sea.
Others again call it the Dead Sea, because of the
weakness of the sun, for it shines over that sea with a dim
light,
(35) and on all sides²⁷⁹ it is dulled by dark clouds.
But there, where it first shines on men,
they call the swell of the sea Eastern or Indian.
Nearby they call it Erythraean and Ethiopian,
to the south, that is, where a great curve of uninhabited
(40) land lies stretched, burned by the sun's fierce rays.
Thus does the Ocean run around the whole earth,
in such a form and bearing among men such names.
Here and there it churns out gulfs, casting itself inwards
into a sea. There are many small gulfs, but four large
ones.
(45) So, then, first of all, it begets the Western Sea,
sweeping from Libya to the Pamphylian land.
The second is small, but far surpassing others,

²⁷⁸νοσφίζει Tsavari: νοσφίζοι

²⁷⁹πάντη Tsavari: αἰεὶ Avienus 63: *omneque late* Paraph.: πανταχοῦ.

which, spreading from the Saturnian sea in the north
sends forth a lofty stream into the Caspian Sea,
(50) which others call the Hyrcanian Sea.

Of the others, which are both from the southern sea,
one reaches higher, pouring forth the Persian wave,
turned to face the Caspian Sea,
and the other, the Arabian Gulf, seethes within,
(55) winding its channel to the south of the Euxine Sea.

So many are the gulfs of the deep-waved Ocean,
the greater ones, but there are countless others.

Now I will tell of the path of the Western Sea, which
wanders to and from all the lands with its oblique waters,
(60) sometimes encircling islands, and sometimes in turn
brushing below the feet of mountains or cities.

But you, o Muses, tell of its winding paths,
beginning in order from the Western Ocean.

Here, by the boundaries the Pillars of Heracles
(65) stand, a great marvel, beside outermost Gades,
beneath the high peak of the far-flung Atlanteans,
where too a bronze column runs to heaven,
tall, and enveloped in dense clouds.

First of all, as one begins, the Iberian Sea
(70) flows forth, which is the beginning of Europe
and of Libya. For it winds in the middle of the two.

The Pillars stand on its shores, on this side and that,
the one looking at Europe, the other at Libya.

After this comes the Galatian stream, where the land
(75) of Massalia lies stretched, with its curved harbour.

Next after these flows the Ligurian Sea,

- where the sons of the Italians dwell on the land,
descendants of Ausonian²⁸⁰ Zeus, always mighty rulers,
beginning from the north as far as the White Rock,
(80) which is rooted in the Sicilian strait.
Next the briny water bellows at Cynus.
After this the Sardinian sea roars within,
and after this the wave of the Tyrrhenian Sea howls
towards the south. But then towards the rays of the sun
(85) the curved Sicilian stream runs back and forth, bringing
waters up from its depths between wave-beaten Pachynus
and the headland of Crete, which juts far into the sea,
beside holy Gortyn and mainland Phaiston,
stretched forth, in the image of the head of a ram.
(90) Because of this they call it the Ram's Brow.
Indeed it also stretches towards the Iapygian land.
From there the swell of the Adriatic grows wide and
stretches towards the north, and again towards the
western corner,
and those dwelling nearby also call it the Ionian sea.
(95) It pours forth onto two lands. As one travels,
on the right-hand side there appears the Illyrian land,
and Dalmatia above, province of warlike men.
On the left extends the immense isthmus of the
Ausonians,
far-reaching, and surrounded by three seas,
(100) the Tyrrhenian, the Sicilian, and the brimming Adriatic.
Each one stretches its channel towards a wind,

²⁸⁰ Αὐσονιῶν MSS: Αὐσονιῆς For the emendation see M.L. West, 'Notes on Dionysius Periegetes', *C.Q.* 42 (1992), pp. 568f.

The Tyrrhenian the west-wind, the Sicilian the
south-wind, the Adriatic the east-wind.

(105) But beyond the soil of Sicily the sea flows towards Libya
raising crested waves, winding about the southern Syrtis,
the one which they also call the Greater Syrtis.

The other one, which has a lesser path, being an inlet,
receives the flood of the sea making its way from afar.
So do the two bays thunder as they twist and turn,
while from the Sicilian mountains stretches the wave of
(110) Crete far to the east, as far as the headland of Salmonis,
which they say is the eastern tip of Crete.

Next two further seas tremble,
as they are driven by the blasts of the north-wind of
Ismarus,
blowing straight at them, for they lie opposite.
(115) Sailors call the first the Pharian sea,
which stretches to the furthestmost cape of Casion.
The other is called the Sidonian sea, where stretching into
the deepest recesses of the land,
[as far as the city of Issus, passing the country of the
Cilicians]

the boundless gulf of Issus drives northward.
(120) It does not run very far in this direction, for it breaks off
directly near the dark entrance to the land of the
Cilicians.

From there it disgorges its crooked water to the west.
Just as a grim-looking serpent winds, coiled and
creeping,
sluggish, and beneath it the entire summit of a mountain

(125) is crushed as it moves, so does that gulf wind in the sea,
full-flowing, weighed down here and there by
flood-waters.

Around its waters the Pamphylians dwell,
as far as the corners²⁸¹ of the Chelidonian islands reach.
It has as its boundary in the west the far summit of
Patara.

(130) Consider now, turning from there again to the north,
the broad path of the Aegean sea, where the waves
thunder as they break around the islands of the Sporades.
For no other path of the sea raises waves,
not like the Aegean, roaring on high.

(135) It sets its limit at furthest Tenedos,
with Imbros on the other side, whence there goes a
narrow strait,
sweeping northward within all Propontis.

Above this the countless tribes of the land of Asia extend
towards the south, for it reaches a wide isthmus of land.

(140) After this is the mouth of the Thracian Bosphorus, which
Io once swam at Hera's instigation, as a young heifer.
That is the narrowest strait of all
the others, which the stormy sea holds,

where the story goes that the pitiless Cyanean rocks
(145) roam in the sea and clash against one another with a
resounding din.

From here opens up and spreads the nearby Pontus.
It is vast and vast is its sprawling span into the heart of
the east.

²⁸¹μυχᾶ Tsavari: ἐπὶ

Its paths flow obliquely,
always looking to the north and to the east.

(150) In the middle, on this side and that, rise two peaks,
one to the far south, which they call Carambis,
the other further north, above the land of Europe,
which those who dwell round about call the Ram's Brow.

These two meet face to face, although they are not
(155) close, but as far apart as a ship might travel in three days.
From here you could also see that the Pontus is two seas,
and resembles the cord of a rounded bow in its curvature.

Now the right-hand side of the Pontus would be the bow-
string,

drawn straight, but Carambis is alone,

(160) standing outside the line, and looking to the north.

The left-hand path has the shape of horns. It is bent
in a double curve, like the horns of a bow.

To its north the waters of Lake Maeotis
spread. Around this dwell the Scythians,

(165) men of countless number, and they call it the Mother of
the Pontus.

For from this flows the measureless water of the Pontus
straight through the Cimmerian Bosphorus, on which
many Cimmerians dwell beneath the cold foot of the
Taurus.

Such, then, is the shape of the dark-shining deep.

(170) Now I shall recall the form of the whole earth,
so that, without seeing it, still you should have an
intelligible view,

and as a result of this you should be honoured and well
respected,

as you explain the details to the man of ignorance.

(175) Well, then, Libya goes stretching to the south,
to the south and east, like a trapezium in form.

beginning first from Gades, where the point
is sharp and reaches into the heart of the Ocean.

A wider boundary is marked near the Arabian sea,
where lies the land of the dark Ethiopians,
(180) the other ones, close to whom stretches the soil of the
Erembi.

Men say that the continent is like a leopard-skin,
for indeed it is dry and parched,
and dotted here and there with dark spots.

So, then, below the outermost point there dwell
(185) near the Pillars the peoples of the Maurusian land.

After them there stretch the countless tribes of Nomads,
where the Masaesylians and country-dwelling Masylians
go to pasture with their children through plain and forest
chasing a grim and wretched hunt for sustenance.

(190) For they do not know the cut of the earth-sharing plough
and they never hear the sweet sound of the carriage's
course,

nor the lowing of cattle returning to their pens.

But they just herd through the thickets, like wild animals,
ignorant of corn and unaware of the harvest.

(195) After them Carthage embraces her lovely harbour,
Carthage, now Libyan, but once Phoenician,

Carthage, which the story says was measured with an
ox-hide.

Next the Syrtis rolls its strong-flowing course,
the Lesser Syrtis. After this towards the east the other
flows,

(200) immense, burdened as it is by fuller floods.

Here, when the Tyrrhenian sea raises its crested waves,
sometimes the water towers high, and sometimes, in turn,
the ebb-tide runs over the dry sands.

In the middle of these two stands a city,
(205) which they call Neapolis. Inland of this
the Lotus-eaters dwell, a people who welcome strangers.

Here the wily Odysseus once came in his wanderings.

In that region you can see the deserted homes of the

Nasamones who have perished,

for the Ausonian spear destroyed this people who paid no
heed to Zeus.

(210) After them are the Asbystae, inland,
and the precinct of the Libyan god, beneath thick sand,
and Cyrene of the fine horses, seat of the Amyclaeans.

Nearby are the Marmaridae who extend before Egypt,

(215) and the Gaetuli beyond them and the neighbouring
Nigretes.

Next after these are the Phaurusii, and beyond them the
land is inhabited by the innumerable Garamantes. In the
remote corners of the continent feed the furthestmost

Ethiopians,

by the Ocean itself, beside the vales of farthest Cerne.

(220) Above them there rise the peaks of the smoky Blemyes,

down from which flow the waters of the most fertile Nile,
which, as it creeps from Libya towards the east,
is called Siris by the Aethiopians. But the inhabitants of
Syene,

once it has turned, change its name to Nile.

(225) From there stretching towards the north, this way and
that, it winds through seven mouths and falls into the sea,
enriching with its waters the fertile plain of Egypt.
For no river is like the Nile,
not in depositing silt, nor in increasing the wealth of the
land.

(230) This river also divides Libya from the land of Asia,
to the west Libya, and to the east the Asian land.

Beside it dwells a race of most illustrious men,
who were the first to distinguish the ways of life,
the first to put the beloved plough to the test,

(235) and scatter seed over the straightest furrow,
and the first to divide the heavens with lines,
considering at heart the oblique course of the sun.

I shall tell of the limits and form of their land itself,
for it has been allotted no small share of honour,

(240) and it is of no small size, but beyond others
it abounds in pasture and meadows, and yields every
glory.

Its shape, then, rests on three sides.

It is broad around the northern shores, but pointed
towards the dawn,

and stretches as far as high-peaked Syene,

(245) fenced on both sides by sheltering mountains,

through the middle of which pour the waters of the
fair-flowing Nile.

And many prosperous men occupy this land,
as many as inhabit glorious Thebes,
ancient Thebes, with a hundred gates, where, with a loud
cry,

(250) Memnon welcomes his mother, Dawn, as she rises.
As many too as inhabit the midmost land of the Seven
Cities,
and as many as there are on the moist shores of the sea
occupying the coast as far as lake Serbonis.

To the west of this is the Macedonian city,
(255) where stands the home of mighty Zeus of Sinope,
adorned with precious gold. You could not see
another temple more divine than that among men,
nor another city as wealthy, where high up
there appear the summits of Pallenian Eidothea.

(260) Next, towards the east, by Mount Casius
the city named after Peleus is occupied by a people
exceptionally skilled in seafaring. Those men are not
numbered among the Libyans, for the city allotted them
is situated to the east of the seven-mouthed Nile.

(265) But a great many others inhabit this land,
some by the Ocean, some in the centre of the mainland,
and others around the waters of beloved Lake Tritonis,²⁸²
which embraces a wide bay²⁸³ in the middle of Libya.
Such, then, is the shape and form of Libya.

²⁸²ἰμερτῆς Τριτωνίδος ὕδατα Tsavari: εὐρείης Τριτωνίδος ὕδατι See Commentary.

²⁸³κόλπον Tsavari: πόντον See Commentary.

(270) But if you want an outline of Europe too, I shall not hide
it from you.

The shape is the same as that of Libya, but it is turned
towards the north, and it tends back towards the east
just as that of the southerly Libya leans towards the
boundary.

Both alike have their furthest track on the border with
Asia,

(275) the one to the north, and the other to the south. But if you
made the two of them one land, then altogether
it would be the shape of a triangle with two equal sides,
pointed in the west, but broad in the east at the middle.

So, having seen that this is the outline of the two
(280) continents, you will easily grasp the bounds of Europe.

At its furthest borders there dwell,
near the Pillars, the people of the brave-hearted Iberians,
reaching across the length of the land, where lies the cold
stream of the northern Ocean, where the Britons

(285) and the white tribes of the war-mad Germans dwell,
running beside the mountains of the Hercynian forest.

They say that that land is like an ox-hide.

After the Iberians are Mount Pyrene and the homes of the
Celts,

near the springs of the fair-flowing Eridanus,

(290) beside the streams of which once in the solitary night
the Heliades cried, lamenting Phaethon.

There the children of the Celts, seated beneath the
poplars,

milk the tears of gold-gleaming amber.

Next after this are the haunts of the Tyrrhenian land.
 (295) To the east of this appears the start of the Alp,
 through the middle of which flow down the waters of the
 Rhine,
 towards the furthestmost wave of the northern Ocean.
 Next after the Rhine there rises the sacred Ister,
 the Ister,²⁸⁴ reaching to the east as far as the Euxine
 (300) sea, where it emits all the foam of its water,
 winding around Peuce with its mouth of five channels.
 To its north dwell very many scattered tribes
 which succeed one another as far as the mouth of Lake
 Maeotis:
 Germans and Samatians and Getae together with
 Bastarnae,
 (305) and the boundless land of the Dacians and the mighty
 Alans,
 and the Tauri, who inhabit the lofty Track of Achilles,
 both narrow and long, as far as the mouth of the lake
 itself.
 Above them there extends the tribe of the Agavi rich in
 horses.
 Here are the Melanchlaeni and the Hippemolgi,
 (310) and the Neuri and Hippopodes and Geloni and Agathyrsi.
 Here the far-reaching stream of the Borysthenes river
 mixes with the Euxine before the Ram's Brow,
 directly in a line opposite the Cyaneae.
 Here the waters of the Aldescus and Panticapes
 (315) roar each in their own corner of the Rhipaeae mountains.

²⁸⁴*Ιστρος Tsavari: αὐτός See Commentary.

Beside them, near the waters of the Frozen sea
 sweet-gleaming amber swells, like a beam
 of the waxing moon, and nearby you could see
 diamonds all-a-glitter beside the cold Agathyrsi.
 (320) So many, then, are the peoples north of the Ister,
 while to the south are the Gerrae and the fortified²⁸⁵
 towns of the Norici,
 and Pannonians and Mysians, north of the Thracians,
 and the Thracians themselves, who inhabit a limitless
 land,
 some on the shores of the sea of the Propontis,
 (325) some beside the strong-flowing Hellespont, and others
 beside the deep wave of the loud-roaring Aegean sea
 itself.
 Here on the summits of bee-feeding Pallene,
 springs the beautiful asterios stone, which glows
 like a star, and the lychnis, just like a flame of fire.
 (330) So many, then, are the peoples who dwell around the
 river Ister.
 Consider now the remaining path of Europe, which
 extends towards the dawn on three feet, that of the
 Iberians,
 that of the Panhellenes, and that of the noble²⁸⁶
 Ausonians.
 Well, then, the outermost is that of the illustrious
 Iberians,
 (335) neighbours of the Ocean to the west. On it stands
 the summit of Alybe, one of the Pillars. Above this

²⁸⁵ἐρυμνά Tsavari: ἐρεμνά See Commentary.

²⁸⁶ἐσθλῶν Tsavari: αὐτῶν See Commentary

is lovely Tartesus, land of affluent men,
and the Cempsî, who dwell by the foot of Pyrene.
In the middle of the other two extends the Ausonian
land,²⁸⁷

(340) far-reaching. A mountain cuts it in two down the middle,
straight, as though it had been aligned with a ruler. No
skilled servant of artful Athene would find fault with it.
This²⁸⁸ they call the Apennine, and beginning from the
Alp in the north it ends at the Strait of Sicily.

(345) Many tribes dwell around it, and I shall easily tell you of
them all,

beginning on the west side from the north.

The Tyrrhenians are first, and after them are the tribes of
the Pelasgians,

who once came from Cyllene to the western sea,
where they settled with the Tyrrhenian men.

(350) After them comes the dread tribe of the noble Latins,
who inhabit a lovely land, through the middle of which
the Tiber winds, casting its pure stream into the sea,
the fair-flowing Tiber, most regal of all rivers,
the Tiber which divides in two beloved Rome,

(355) honoured Rome, the great home of my lords,
the mother of all cities, rich abode.

After this is the fertile plain of the Campanians, where
stands the home of chaste Parthenope, laden with sheaves
of corn,

Parthenope, whom the sea welcomed in its embrace.

(360) To the south, some way beyond the Siren's Rock,

²⁸⁷ αἶα Tsavari: ἄκη See Commentary

²⁸⁸ γ Tsavari: δν

appear the streams of the Picentine Silarus.

Nearby are the men of the Leucani and the Brentii,
who inhabit the land as far the White Rock.

From there to the north appears the cape of Zephyr,

(365) Below it are the Locri, all those who in years gone by,
came to Ausonia, after coupling with their mistresses.
Even now their people dwell by the streams of the Alex.

Next after them are the Metapontii, and near them
the beloved city of well-crowned Croton,

(370) situated by the waters of the charming Aesarus,
where you can see the lofty home of Lacinian Hera.

There too, at the anger of mighty Zeus
is wretched Sybaris, mourning her fallen inhabitants,
who were overly mad for Alpheius' honours.

(375) The Samnites after them inhabit the middle territory,
and the nimble tribes of the Marsi. Tarentum lies near the
sea,

which strong Amyclaeon Ares once built.

Next after these are the haunts of the Calabrian land
and the tribes of the Iapygians reaching as far as Hyrion,

(380) by the sea, Hyrion, where the flood of the Adriatic flows
to the neighbouring sea of Aquileia where stands
the city of the Tegeltraeans, on the edges of the
innermost sea.

So many are the peoples who inhabit the Ausonian land.

From there to the east the winding flood flows,

(385) wearing at the Liburnian shores, and around all the
fortified country of the Hylles, all that lies beside the
isthmus,

and the coasts of the Boulimes. Onward it drives its
 immense course,
 winding to the Illyrian land as far as the peak
 and the steep mountains, which they call the Ceraunians.
 (390) Moreover in that region you could see the famous tomb,
 the tomb which rumour has it belongs to Cadmus and
 Harmony.
 For it was there that they were changed into coiled
 snakes,
 when they came from Ismenus in their rich old age.
 Here the gods brought about another miracle for them.
 (395) For in that region, on either side two rocks stand firmly
 fixed,
 which both tremble and come together, whenever any
 ill begins to threaten those who dwell there.
 To the south, quite far below fertile Thrace
 and beyond the land of Oricia, is the beginning of Hellas,
 (400) stretching far, girded by twin seas,
 the Aegean and the Sicilian. Each has been allotted a
 wind,
 the Sicilian sea the west wind, which they also call
 Zephyr,
 and the Aegean the east wind. The island of Pelops
 follows next,
 like the tapering leaf of a plane-tree.
 (405) For the narrow Isthmus to the north is pinched
 like the stem, and is attached to Hellas by a common
 path.
 The land is like a wind-tossed leaf in outline,

wreathed with coastal bays on this side and that.
 To its west are the haunts of the Triphylian land,
 (410) where the loveliest of rivers, the Alpheius, makes its way
 separating itself from the waters of the Messenian
 Eurotas.

Both these rivers churn forth their streams from Asea,
 but the one divides the land of the Eleans, and the other
 that of the Amyclaeans.

In the middle of the island the Apidanian Arcadians
 (415) inhabit a hollow country below the peak of Erymanthus,
 where Melas, where Crathis, where the moist Iaon flows,
 where too ancient Ladon stretches with its waters.
 nearby is the soil of the Argives and the land of the
 Laconians,

the one looking to the east, the other to the south.

(420) Two seas thunder around the shores of the Isthmus,
 one flowing opposite Ephyre towards the darkness,
 the other towards the dawn. This they call the Saronic.
 Beyond the Isthmus to the east lies the Attic land,
 through which flows the stream of the divine Ilissus.

(425) It was from here too that Boreas once snatched Oreithyia.
 After this there is the plain of the Boeotians and the
 Locrian soil,

and Thessaly is after these and the cities of Macedonia.
 After this there appear the summits of snowy Haemus
 in Thrace. Facing this towards the blast of the west wind
 (430) the immense land of Dodona extends.²⁸⁹

Beyond this, below the plain of Aracynthus, the great

²⁸⁹ἐκτετάνυσται Tsavari: ἐστεφάνωται Priscian 443: *tenditur* Paraph.: ἐκτέταται.

plain of the Aetolians goes towards the south. Through
the middle sweeps the silver-eddy Achelous, driving
its course,

(435) winding to the sea of Trinacria through the midst
of the islands, which they call the Echinades. There
follow here and there the cities of the neighbouring
Cephalenians.

After this there is the soil of Phocis, towards the east and
the dawn,

coursing northwards to the mouth of Thermopylae,
below the cleft of snowy Parnassus. Through the middle
(440) of this the great wave of Cephissus descends with a
murmur.

Beside this is the fragrant plain of Pytho, where the coil
of the serpent Delphyne lies next to the tripods of the
god,

the coil, rough with countless scales,
in the beloved²⁹⁰ temple, where often Apollo himself
(445) stops and loosens the cord of his golden quiver,
just back from Miletus or from Clarus.

So, then, may he be gracious. But you, Muse of Zeus, tell
me of the sacred path of all the islands, which appear in
the sea before men's eyes, facing this way and that.

(450) Well, then, in the middle beneath the western Pillars
furthest Gadeira appears before men,
on a sea-bound island, beside the limits of Ocean.
Here dwells a race of Phoenician men
who worship mighty Zeus' son, Heracles.

²⁹⁰ἱμερτῶ Tsavari: μεγάλῳ Paraph.: ἐπιθυμητῶ

- (455) This island too, which among men of old
was called Cotinoussa, the inhabitants call Gadeira.
Next are the Gymnesian islands. Nearby there is Bousos,
and broadest Sardo, and Cynus lovely in the sea,
which the people who live there call Corsis.
- (460) There is no forest which is as vast as hers.
After this there are the islands of Aeolus which form a
circle in the sea,
Aeolus, son of Hippotas, the king who welcomes
strangers,
Aeolus, who was allotted gifts wondrous among men,
the command of the winds as they rage and as they rest.
- (465) He has seven, named by men the Navigable isles,
because in their midst they have a winding path that may
be sailed around.
After these Trinacria extends beyond the land
of the Ausonians, standing on three sides.
Its headlands are Pachynus, Peloris and Lilybe.
- (470) So, then, Lilybe rises up into the blast of the west wind,
and Pachynus is to the east, and towards the north
lies windy Peloris, looking at Ausonia.
To its north the passage is deadly for sailors,
narrow and winding and unruly, where the sea
- (475) as it flows thunders about the high rocks,
the sea pierced by the many-barbed Aonian iron.
To the south is the path of Libya and the beginning of the
Syrtis,
the one. The other you would see as you made your way
further,

the western one. Before this there are two islands,
 (480) Meninx and Cercinna, occupying the Libyan basin.
 But whenever you sail the left-hand path of the Adriatic
 sea in your ship, to the Iapygian land,
 you will immediately find the island of mighty
 Diomedes,
 where the hero came, after enraging Aphrodite,
 (485) when he sought the people of the much-longed-for²⁹¹
 Iberes,
 at the advice of his wife, ill-minded Aegialeia.
 Next after this passage towards the rays of the sun,
 there appears the immense course of the islands of
 Apsyrtes,
 which the sons of the Colchians once invaded, when they
 took pains
 (490) in searching after the traces of the errant daughter of
 Aietes.
 Next after these the Liburnian islands stand rooted.
 To the south, after the Ceraunian forests, before the
 passing ship,
 there would appear on the far side the islands of the
 Ampracians,
 and fertile Cercyra, beloved land of Alcinous.
 (495) After this is fixed the seat of Nerician Ithaca,
 and of all the other islands that Achelous flowing
 from Chalcis winds about with silver eddies.
 Many can be seen to the north of Amnisus:
 Aigila, and Cythera and rugged Calauria.

²⁹¹τριλλίστων Tsavari: τηλίστων Paraph.: πολυλιτανεύτων

- (500) Carpathus is on the other side. Towards the darkness,
 nearby,
 is honoured Crete, mighty Zeus' nurse-maid,
 great and fertile and abounding in pastures, above which
 is Ida,
 Ida, lush with fair-tressed oaks.
 Its size too is indeed immense. Opposite the coast
- (505) of Egypt is Rhodes, land of the Ialysian men.
 After this to the east are the Chelidoniae,
 three islands inside the great promontory of Patara.
 To the east, in the Pamphylian gulf, Cyprus
 is washed by the sea, the lovely city²⁹² of Dionean
 Aphrodite.
- (510) Near Phoenicia Arados sits in the great gulf.
 Before the peak of Sounion, beyond the Abantes,
 there appear Salamis and the city of Aegina.
 The deep path of the Aegean is a wonder,
 with its row of endless islands on either side within it,
- (515) as far as the narrow waters of Helle, Athamas' daughter,
 where Sestus and Abydos each have a harbour facing the
 other.
- The islands of Europe run in order beneath the left-hand
 quarter of the heavens, and those of Asia lie to the
 right,
 reaching lengthways to the Arctic north.
- (520) So, then, Abantian Macris belongs to Europe,
 and windy Scyros and lofty Peparethos.
 Here too Lemnos, the rugged land of Hephaestus,

²⁹² ἄστυ Tsavari: αἶλα Cf. 524: Ὀρηκὴν τε Σάμος, Κυρβάντιον ἄστυ

extends, and ancient Thasos, Demeter's shore,
 Imbros, and Thracian Samos, the city of the Corybantes.
 (525) The islands of Asia which have obtained the first lot, are
 circled around Delos, and are called the Cyclades.
 As offerings to Apollo they all lead dances,
 as the sweet spring begins anew, when in the mountains
 far from people, the clear-voiced nightingale conceives.
 (530) Next the islands of the Sporades beam brightly all
 around,
 as when the stars are seen through the cloudless air,
 once the swift north wind has dispersed the damp mists.
 After these are the Ionian islands. Here are Caunus
 and lovely Samos, the abode of Pelasgian Hera,
 (535) and Chios at the foot of steep Pelinnaion.
 From there the mountains of the Aiolian isles appear,
 wide Lesbos, and beloved Tenedos.
 From there too the gulf of Melas flows towards the
 Hellespont,
 churning foam. As one goes far to the north,
 (540) there extends on this side and that the swell of the
 Propontic sea.
 There is also, above the left-hand path of the Euxine,
 opposite the Borysthenes, a well-known island in the sea,
 the Island of Heroes. They call it by the name of Leuce,
 because the serpents there are white.
 (545) There rumour has it the spirits of Achilles and other
 heroes roam this way and that through the deserted glens.
 This is the gift from Zeus which attends the most noble

in reward for their virtue. For virtue is allotted a pure²⁹³
honour.

(550) As one goes straight through²⁹⁴ the Cimmerian Bosphorus
there is another immense island, which is situated
within Lake Maeotis on the right-hand side,
and on which stand Phainagora and well-built
Hermonassa.

Here dwell the children of the Ionian land.

(555) These are the islands in the sea famous among men,
but others are wreathed along Ocean's stream.²⁹⁵

I would tell of the notable position of these,
and at the foot of which wind each of them lies.

(560) So, then, there dwell about cattle-rearing Erytheia,
by the wave of the Atlantic, the god-fearing Aithiopians,
noble sons of the Macrobian, who once came here
after the death of proud Geryon. Below the Sacred
Cape, which they say is the headland of Europe,
the islands of the Hesperides, the birthplace of tin,
are inhabited by the rich people²⁹⁶ of the illustrious
Iberians.

(565) There are two other islands by the northern shores
of Ocean, the British Isles, opposite the Rhine.
For there the river pours forth its last eddy into the sea.
The size of these islands is immense and no²⁹⁷ other
among all the islands is equal²⁹⁸ to the British isles.

²⁹³ ἀκήρατον Tsavari: ἐπήρατον Paraph.: ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀκήρατου Eustathius:
ἀκήρατον.

²⁹⁴ διὰ Tsavari: ἀνὰ Cf. 167: ὀρθὸν Κιμμερίου διὰ Βοσπόρου

²⁹⁵ ἄλλαι δ' ὠκεανοῖο παρὰ ῥόον ἐστεφάνωνται Tsavari: ἄλλας δ' ὠκεανοῖο περὶ
ῥόος ἐστεφάνωνται

²⁹⁶ ἔθνος Tsavari: παῖδες Priscian 576: populus Paraph.: ἔθνος

²⁹⁷ οὐδέ Tsavari: οὐ κέ

²⁹⁸ ἰσοφαρίζει Tsavari: ἰσοφαρίζοι

- (570) Nearby there is another path of islets, where the wives
of the noble Amnitian men on the opposite shores
excitedly perform the sacred rites for Bacchus according
to custom,
wreathed with clusters of black-leaved ivy
by night. And the clear sound of the tumult rises.
- (575) Not so on the banks of the Thracian Apsynthus
do the Bistonians call upon loud-roaring Eiraphiotes;
not so beside the black-eddying Ganges do the Indians,
with their children, lead the revelry in honour of
loud-thundering Dionysus,
not as the women in that land raise their cries of 'Euoe'.
- (580) Cutting further along Ocean's long path
in your well-built ship you would to the island of Thulis.
here, when the sun reaches the pole of the Bears,
the ever-blazing fire pours out²⁹⁹ days and nights alike.
For then it revolves in a more oblique orbit
- (585) its rays travelling in a straight descent,
until it progresses along its southern path in turn
toward the dark-skinned peoples.
- But whenever you cleave the deep stream of the Scythian
Ocean in your ship, and you turn further towards the
eastern sea,
your path leads you to the island of Chryseia, where the
- (590) rising of the bright sun itself is even visible.
Turning from there before the southern headland,
you would immediately come to the island of mighty
Colias,

²⁹⁹ ἐκκέχυται Tsavari: ἀγκέχυται Eustath. & Paraph.: ἐκκέχυται

Taprobane, mother of the Asian-born elephants,
 beyond which, raised high in the revolution of the
 heavens,
 (595) the fiery Crab spins in a circle in the ether.
 This island is very broad in size, and all around
 sea-creatures inhabit the shores, beasts of the Erythraean
 sea,
 like lofty mountains. On the ridges
 of their backs there rises a long track of spines
 (600) May the children of our enemies, as they wander over the
 sea, meet these creatures in their travels. For there is no
 escape inside their wretched jaws, since it is a gaping
 chasm.
 Often these monsters even gulp down the ship along with
 ship's men themselves. For a deity has placed myriad ills
 (605) on sea and on land for those who are wicked.
 There is further on, outside the Carmanian headland
 Ogyris, where lies the tomb of king Erythraeus.
 From there you would make your way to the mouth of
 the Persian sea,
 if you set out northwards, and you would come to Icarus,
 (610) Icarus on the sea, where the altars of the goddess
 Tauropolis,
 full of the steam of burnt sacrifices, bear bitter smoke.
 So many are the islands which Ocean's stream meet,
 the larger islands. But there are countless others,
 some in the waters of the Libyan sea,
 (615) some Asian, and some again around the region of
 Europe.

The other islands elsewhere are innumerable. There are
some which are inhabited by men and have lovely
 harbours for ships,
and some which have high cliffs and are not suitable for
 sailors.

The names of all these it is not easy for me to relate.

(620) The shape of Asia is the same as the form of the two
continents, facing in the other direction, like the outline
 of a cone,

heading little by little towards the furthest nooks of all
 the east,

where too stand the Pillars of Theban-born Dionysus,
beside the stream of the outermost Ocean.

(625) in the most distant mountains of the Indians, where
the Ganges winds its white water to the Nysaeon plain.
But the size of the Asian land is not so great,
nor is its shape entirely alike. For there is one sea
which guides its stream into those continents,

(630) but in Asia there is the great Ocean. For it winds
and pours forth three seething gulfs, casting them
 inwards:

the Persian, the Arabian, and the Hyrcanian with its deep
 eddies.

Two in the south, and one looking to the north,
looking to the north and to the west, neighbour to the
(635) Euxine sea, where countless men dwell all around.

An immense isthmus of land marks the boundary
 between the two,
stretching here and there in vast plains.

At the centre of all Asia a mountain-range extends,
beginning from the Pamphylian land as far as even the
Indians,

(640) at times at an angle and winding, and at times in turn
completely straight in its tracks. They call it Taurus,
because it looks like a bull and makes its way with peaks
like pointed horns,³⁰⁰

divided here and there into outstretched mountains.

From there countless rivers flow with a loud din,

(645) some to the north, some to the south, and some towards
the blasts of the east and west winds. Who could tell the
names of them all?

It has not been allotted one name, but in each
valley it has a name. These names might concern those
men who have their homes in the neighbouring country.

(650) Now, then, I will go through all the renowned peoples
who dwell there. May the Muses lead a most straight
path.

Well, then, near lake Maeotis there dwell
the Maeotians themselves and the tribes of the
Sauromatae,

noble race of warlike Ares. For they are sprung
(655) from that powerful love of the Amazons,
in which they once joined with the men of the
Sauromatae,

when they had wandered from their homeland far from
the Thermodon.

³⁰⁰ὄξυκάρηνον Tsavari: ὀρθόκραϊνον Priscian 634: *cornua nam summus scopulis imitatur acutis* Paraph.: ὄξυκέφαλον.

Because of this great-hearted children were born too,
who inhabit an immense forest, through the middle of
(660) which the Tanais sweeps, falling into the recesses³⁰¹ of
the Maeotis.

The river also divides Europe from the Asian land,
to the west Europe, and to the east the land of Asia.
Its springs roar in the Caucasian mountains
far away. Broad, it rushes here and there
(665) running over the Scythian plains.
And, when it seethes in immense waves under the north
wind,
you would see ice freezing in the frost.
Wretched are those who have their homes around that
place.

Constantly they suffer the cold snow and excessive frost.
(670) Indeed, when the winds bring the fiercest frost,
you could see horses dying before your eyes,
or even mules, or the tribe of field-dwelling sheep.
Not even the men themselves would stay unharmed,
those who remained exposed to those blasts.

(675) So they harness up their carts and roam
to another place, leaving the land to the wintry
gales, which rage against them in cruel storms,
and shake the land and the pine-covered mountains.

So many dwell around the Tanais river,
(680) while beside the Sauromatae one after another are
the Sindi and the Cimmerians and, bordering on the
Euxine,

³⁰¹ μυχᾶ Tsavari: μεσᾶ Priscian 650: *Maeotidis intima*.

the Cercetii and Toretae and the valiant Achaeans,
whom the gusts of the south and west wind
once drove from Xanthus and Idaean Simoeis,
(685) as they followed their warlike king after battle.
After them there dwell, inhabitants of the neighbouring
land,
the Heniochi and Zygii, descendants of the Pelasgian
land.
Beside the furthest nook of the Pontus, after the country
of the Tyndaridae,
there dwell the Colchians, settlers from Egypt,
(690) near the Caucasus, which rises in lofty mountains
around the Hyrcanian sea. Here the Phasis
winds across the flat of the Circaean plain,
and churns its swift foam towards the wave of the
Euxine,
beginning first from the Armenian mountain.
(695) To the east and north of this there lies an isthmus
the isthmus of the Caspian and Euxine seas.
Here dwells the eastern tribe of the Iberians,
who once came from Pyrene to the east,
when they engaged in a hostile war with the Hyrcanians,
(700) and the great tribe of the Camaritae, who once
received and welcomed Bacchus after his war with the
Indians,
and, together with the Lenae, established a sacred dance,
placing loin-cloths and fawnskins around their middles,
crying 'Euoe, Bacche'. And the god cherished in his
(705) heart the race of those men and their haunts on the land.

After them the Caspian sea swells with waves.
I shall easily draw you this sea,
without having seen its far away paths, without having
travelled in a ship.

(710) For my life is not on black ships,
and my family is not in commerce, nor do I sail to
the Ganges, like others do, through the Erythraean sea,
without a care for their lives, in order to win immense
wealth,

and I do not mix with the Hyrcanians, nor search for
the Caucasian peaks of the Erythraean Ariani.
(715) But I am carried by the knowledge of the Muses, who,
without wandering, can measure vast tracts of sea,
and the mountains and the mainland and the course of the
heavenly stars.

So, then, the shape of the great Caspian sea as a whole
would be round, circular. You would not cross it
(720) in a ship before the circling of the third moon.

For so great is its relentless course. Flowing sharply
towards the north, it mixes with the waters of Ocean.
Indeed it nurtures many other marvels for men.

It produces crystal and cloudy jasper,
(725) hateful to Hobgoblins and other phantoms.
I shall tell you of all those tribes who dwell around it,
beginning on the western side from the north.

First are the Scythians, as many as inhabit the coast
near the sea of Cronos along the mouth of the Caspian
sea.

(730) Next are the Thyni, and after them are the Caspians,

and the warlike Albanians after them, and the Cadusians
who dwell beyond the rugged land. Nearby are the

Mardi,

the Hyrcanian and the Tapyroi. After them the Mardos
winds

its course, the draught of the Dercebians and the rich
Bactrians.

(735) For between the two it descends into the Hyrcanian sea.
So, then, the Bactrians inhabit a wider region
inland beneath the ridges of Parnasus,
and the Dercebians dwell on the other side by the
Caspian waters.

After them to the east, beyond the resounding Araxes,
(740) dwell the Massagetae, drawers of swift arrows.
May neither I myself nor any companion go near
these men. For they are far more hostile to strangers than
others.

For they do not have the food of sweet grain,
nor even native wine. But by mixing white milk
(745) with the blood of horses, they prepare their meals.
After them to the north are the Chorasmians, beyond
whom lies the land,
of Sugdia, through the middle of which winds the sacred
Oxos,
which leaves the Emodos mountain and descends into the
Caspian.

After this there dwell beside the waters of the Iaxartes
(750) the Sacae, bearing bows which no other archer

could put to shame. For it is not customary for them to
cast arrows in vain.

There also dwell the Toxarii, and Phrouri and the
barbarous tribes of the Seres,

(755) who spurn cattle and fat sheep,
and comb the shimmering blossoms of their desolate land
and weave finely-wrought garments, prized garments,
resembling in colour the flowers of the grassy meadow.
No spider's work would rival them.

There are other Scythians in dense numbers, who inhabit
the furthest regions. Beside them there lies stretched a
stormy land,

(760) left³⁰² to the wintry winds and hail.

So many are the peoples around the Caspian waves.

But consider now from the Colchians and the Phasis to
the west,

by the edge of the Euxine, the abundant tribes of the
Pontus

as far as the Thracian mouth, where lies the land of
Chalcis.

(765) First there are the Byzeres and nearby the tribes of the
Becheires,

the Macrones and the Philyres and those who have
wooden houses. Near them are the Tibareni rich in lambs.

After them there are also the Chalybes inhabiting a cruel
and harsh land, experts in the working of toilsome iron,

(770) who, standing over their loud-thundering anvils,
never cease from their labour and terrible misery.

³⁰²λελειμμένη Tsavari: κεκλειμένη

After them the alluvial soil of the Assyrian land extends,
 where, from the Armenian mountain to the Amazons,
 the furious Thermodon sends forth its white water,
 (775) Thermodon, who once received Sinope, the wandering
 daughter of Asopus,
 and, as she grieved, consoled her in his own land
 at Zeus' bidding. For Zeus, desiring sweet love,
 sent her from her fatherland, unwilling as she was.
 Men also inhabit a city named after her.
 (780) Around the frozen banks of that river,
 you could cut the pure stone of crystal, like ice
 in winter. You will also find watery jasper.
 Next the Iris casts its pure stream into the sea.
 After this there roar the streams of the river Halys,
 (785) coursing towards the north near the peak of Carambis,
 beginning first from the Armenian mountain.
 Next on the shores there reside the Paphlagonians
 and the sacred plain of the Maryandini. Here they say
 Infernal Zeus' great dog with its voice of brass,
 (790) when dragged up by the hands of great-hearted Heracles,
 cast from its mouth a terrible slavering humour,
 which the earth received and bore as a bane to men.³⁰³
 Nearby the Bithynians inhabit a fertile land.
 The Rhebas here sends forth a lovely stream,
 (795) the Rhebas, which courses beside the mouth of the
 Pontus,
 the Rhebas, whose water is the fairest to sweep over the
 land.

³⁰³ ἀνδράσι Tsavari: αὐτόθι Paraph. & Eustath.: ἀνδράσι

So many are the men who dwell around the Pontus.
Let the Scythian tribes, then, be those that I have
mentioned.

(800) Now, I would tell in turn of the path of the Asian coast,
which goes to the south at the Hellespont coursing
even to the southern stream of the most vast Aegean,
as far as Syria itself and lovely Arabia.

The Chalcidians first of all inhabit the land near the
mouth,

looking at the soil of Byzantium on the opposite coast.
(805) After these are the Bebrycians and the mountains of the
Mysian land,
where Cios sends forth its beloved streams,
at the waters of which a nymph once stole Hylas,
the ready servant of giant Heracles.

From here to the Hellespont runs the immense curve
(810) of Lesser Phrygia. The other Phrygia lies inland,
the Greater Phrygia, by the waters of the Sangarius.
So, then, it is vast and stretches to the east,
a fertile land grazed by horses. To the west you would
see the other,

which lies beneath the foot of sacred Ida,
(815) with wind-blown Troy on its borders,
Troy, glorious city of heroes of old,
Troy, which Poseidon and Apollo founded,
Troy, which Athene and Hera destroyed,
beside the broad-flowing Xanthus and Idaean Simoeis.

(820) After this there extend the haunts of the Aeolian land,
by the edge of the Aegean, beyond the great Hellespont.

After this there dwell the people³⁰⁴ of the noble Ionians,
 near the sea, in that country through the middle of which
 the Maeander descends into the sea with fertile eddies.
 (825) between Miletus and broad Priene.
 To the north of these two you would see
 Ephesus on the coast, the great city of arrow-shooting
 Artemis,
 where the Amazons once built a temple to the goddess
 at the trunk of an elm, an extraordinary wonder to men.
 (830) Next Maeonia extends to the east
 beneath windy Tmolus, whence the Pactolus makes its
 way,
 bringing gold in its eddies and murmuring.
 Sitting on its banks in the season of Spring
 you would hear the clear voices of the swans, which
 graze
 (835) beside the water here and there on³⁰⁵ the growing grass.
 For many meadows flourish in Asia,
 especially on the plain of Maeander, where the gleaming
 water of the gently-plashing Caystrus flows.
 You certainly would not fault the women, who around
 (840) that divine spot, wearing a belt of gold at their waists,
 dance, turning in a wondrous circle,
 when the dances of Dionysus take place.
 With them maidens skip, like young fawns,
 and round about them the sounding winds
 (845) stir the lovely tunics on their breasts.
 But this is the concern of the Lydian people.

³⁰⁴ἔθνος Tsavari: παῖδες

³⁰⁵ἐπὶ Tsavari: ἔτι

By the sea the Lycians inhabit a land
 on the waters of the Xanthus, the fair-flowing river.
 Here the mountains of the high-cliffed Taurus appear,
 (850) as far as Pamphylia. They call it Cragus.
 There you would see a city on the sea,
 Aspedos, by the stream of the river Eurymedon,
 where they appease the daughter of Dione with the
 slaughter of swine.
 Other Pamphylian cities follow,
 (855) Corycos, and Perge, and wind-blown Phaselis.
 To the east of these, inhabiting an inland region,
 are the Lycaones with their crooked bows, experts in war.
 After them there is the fertile plain of the Pisidians,
 where stand the cities
 of Telmessus and Lyrbe and that city which the people
 (860) of the Amyclaeans once built in times past, Selge, of
 great renown in the land.
 From there to the east a curved sea cuts³⁰⁶
 a winding path reaching far inland,
 neighbour to the stormy Euxine sea.
 That gulf sweeps around the peoples of the Cilicians
 (865) a long way to the east. They call it the Strait of Asia.
 The waters of many rivers which come from afar
 mix with this, the waters of the Pyramos and the Pinaros,
 and the winding Cydnos, which flows through the middle
 of Tarsus,
 well-built Tarsus, where the horse Pegasus once,

³⁰⁶περιτέμνεται Tsavari: περιτέλλεται

(870) lost a hoof and left his name to that place, when the hero
Bellerophon fell from the horse on his way to the home
of Zeus.

There too is the plain of Aleios, on the flat of which,
as he wandered far from men, Bellerophon rested.

Next are the many cities of the Cilicians,
(875) Lyrnessus and Mallus and Anchialeia and Soli,
some inland, and others near the sea itself.

After these are the seat of Commagenus and the cities of
Syria

stretching along the winding shore. For the course of the
grey sea turns around to the west, as far as the peak
(880) of the mountain near the sea, high-cliffed Casius.

I would easily tell of the remaining path
of the lands of Asia. Keep these words in your heart,
and do not let the grace of my hard work be carried away
by the winds.

For if you were to observe this path clearly,
(885) then you could soon tell others too in an expert fashion
of the rivers and of the location of the cities and of each
land.

So let there be a shape of four sides,
stretching towards the east in long plains.

Now you know, as you heard me say so in the first place,
(890) that a mountain cuts all of Asia in two as far as the
Indians.

That would form the more northerly of the sides,
and the Nile would be the western side. The eastern side

would be the Indian Ocean, and the southern would be
formed by the waves of the Erythraean Sea.

Consider how I shall now make my way to the east along
the coast,

(895) beginning from Syria, where I left off, and no man
could accuse me of giving a false account.

Well, then, Syria goes beyond the sea nearby
to the south and east, with a land that has many cities,
which they call 'Hollow', because it is in the middle
(900) of mountain-peaks which render it low down,
the peaks of Casius in the west and Libanus in the east.
Many wealthy men inhabit this land,
though they do not dwell together under one name, but
separately,

some inland, who are called Syrians,
(905) and some near the sea, named Phoenicians.

They are of the race of men who are Erythraeans,
who first made an attempt on the sea in ships,
and were the first to turn their minds to trade by sea
and consider the far chorus of the heavenly stars.

(910) These men inhabit Iope and Gaza and Elais,
and ancient Tyre and the lovely land of Berytus,
and Byblus by the sea and flowery Sidon,
situated by the waters of the charming Bostrenus,
and fertile Tripolis, and Orthosis and Marathos

(915) and Laodice, which lies on the shores of the sea,
and the fields of Poseidon and the sacred vales of Daphne
[where stands Antiocheia, named after Antiochus].
In the midst of these is the city of Apameia,

to the east of which flows the moist Orontes,
(920) immense, and dividing the land of Antiochus through the
middle.

The whole region is fertile and abounds in pasture,
to feed the sheep and cause the fruit on the trees to grow.
Beyond this land you would see, as you made your way
further south,
the innermost path of the Arabian gulf, which winds
(925) between Syria and lovely Arabia,
turning a little to the east as far as Elana.

From there the land of the most fortunate Arabs extends
reaching far, and girded by twin seas,
the Persian and the Arabian. Each has been allotted a
wind,

(930) the Arabian the west wind and the Persian the paths of
the east wind.

The southern coast facing the east
is washed by the waves of the Erythraean Ocean.
And I shall tell you of its position. For it is inhabited
by tribes who are fortunate and noble beyond all
others.³⁰⁷

(935) This land has been allotted another exceptionally great
wonder.

It always smells sweetly from the perfume of burnt
offerings,
either of incense, or myrrh, or fragrant grass
or even divinely-scented mature frankincense
or cassia. For indeed it was in that place that Zeus

³⁰⁷ πασάων Tsavari: γαιάων

(940) freed Dionysus himself³⁰⁸ from his well-stitched thigh;³⁰⁹
and at his birth there grew³¹⁰ fragrant shrubs of every
kind.³¹¹

The sheep too then became laden with shaggy fleeces
in the pasture, and the lakes flowed with spontaneous
waters.³¹²

Birds from uninhabited islands elsewhere
(945) came bearing leaves of untouched cinnamon.
Then the god stretched a fawn-skin over his shoulders
and garlanded his fair hair with lovely ivy,
and slightly drunk with wine³¹³ he brandished³¹⁴ his
wreathed thyrsi,
smiling, and showered the men with great wealth.

(950) For this reason even today the fields are thick with
frankincense,
the mountains with gold, and the rivers elsewhere with
sacrificial offerings.

The inhabitants themselves are a very wealthy people,
glorying in soft robes of gold.

So, then, first beyond the slope of Libanus

(955) dwell the rich people called the Nabataei.
Near them are the Chaulasii and the Agrei, beyond whom
is the land of Chatramis, opposite the Persian land.
Inhabiting the coast of the Erythraean Sea

³⁰⁸αὐτὸν Tsavari: αὐτὸς

³⁰⁹παρὰ μηροῦ Tsavari: μηροῖο

³¹⁰φύετο Tsavari: γείνατο

³¹¹πάντα Tsavari: πέζαν Paraph. & Eustath.: ἅπαντα

³¹²αὐτόματοις Tsavari: αὐτόματοι Eustath.: αὐτομάτῳ ὕδατι.

³¹³δ' οἶνω Tsavari: οἶνω

³¹⁴ἀνεσείσατο Tsavari: δ' ἀνεδήσατο

are the Minnaei and Sabae and the neighbouring
Cletabani.

(960) So many immense tribes inhabit Arabia,
but there are also many more, for it is extremely vast.
Towards the opposite shore, under the blast of the west
wind

appears the wretched land of the mountain-dwelling
Erembi,

who live their lives in dug-out rocks,
(965) naked and without possessions. On their bodies
burning from the heat the parched skin grows black.
Thus, like wild animals, they roam and suffer hardships,
unlike the people of the soft-living Arabs. For the deity
has not given to all men an equal share in wealth.

(970) Beyond Libanus towards the rays of the sun
there lies stretched the extensive land of the other Syria,
reaching as far as sea-washed Sinope.

In the middle of this deep land
there dwell the Cappadocians, experts in horsemanship,
(975) and the Assyrians near the sea, by the mouth of the
Thermodon.

To the east, out from the rugged mountains
there appears the stream of the boundless Euphrates.
This starts first from the Armenian mountain
and goes far towards the south, and back, winding in
curves,

(980) facing the sun as it journeys through the middle of
Babylon,

it pours forth its swift foam into the swell of the Persian
 Sea,
 passing near Teredon with its furthestmost waters.
 After this to the east the most rapid of all rivers,
 the fair-flowing Tigris bears its stream leading an even
 course,
 (985) as far as a strong, fast traveller could journey
 if he travelled for seven days.
 There is in the middle a certain lake encircled by its
 waters,
 named Thonitis, into the corners of which the Tigris
 flows,
 sinking far below. On rising back up again,
 (990) it casts southward a swifter stream. Among all the rivers
 you would not see another more rapid.
 All the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris
 the people who live round about call 'Mesopotamia'.
 No herdsman has faulted the pastures of that land,
 (995) nor anyone who honours horn-hoofed Pan on the syrinx
 and follows the sheep of the field. No man who tends
 plants
 has made light of the variety of fruits,
 such is the soil in³¹⁵ that land, in fostering
 the grass, the pastures full of flowers, and even the race
 (1000) of men, most handsome and similar to the immortals.
 To the north of this a fertile country is inhabited by
 the Armenian men and the close-fighting Matieni,
 who live in the mountains, along the river Euphrates,

³¹⁵ἐπὶ Tsavari: ἐπεὶ

rich and wealthy and expert in war.

(1005) To the south is the sacred city of Babylon, the whole of
which Semiramis crowned with impenetrable walls.

Moreover on the acropolis she built a great temple to

Belus,

and adorned it with gold and ivory and silver.

The plain of Babylon is immense, where many

(1010) overhanging palms grow with leafy crowns.

Yes, it bears something else beautiful than gold,

the sea-green stone of watery beryl, which forms

on the jutting rocks in that region within the stone of

serpentine.

Beyond Babylon toward the blast of the north wind

(1015) the Cissi and Messabatae and Chalonitae dwell.

But whenever you should journey beyond the Armenian
mountains,

to the east, then you will find the valleys of the Medes.

To the north of these a flourishing land is inhabited

by Geli and Mardi and Atropateni.

(1020) To the south there dwell the tribes of the noble Medes,

descendants of that glorious line

of Aietes' daughter, blameless heroine.

For when, beside the stream of the Actaeon Ilissus,

she prepared the baneful drugs for the son of the

Pandionid,

(1025) she left that place in shame, and, as she wandered among

men,

she came to that rich land, which shares her name,

not far from the Colchians. She could not come

to the land of the Colchians, for she feared her father's
anger.

(1030) For this reason still now men expert in many drugs
inhabit that immense land, some dwelling on the very
rocks, which produce dark narcissite,
and some also in the overgrown meadows,
pasturing their fine flocks, which are utterly weighed
down by their fleeces.

(1035) These men reach towards the east, as far as the Caspian
Gates, which lie below hollow rocks,
keys to the Asian land, where a path
lies stretched for those travelling both to the north and to
the south,
one to the Hyrcanians, another to the mountains of the
Persian land.

(1040) Well, then, below the foot of the Caspian Gates
dwell the warlike Parthians, who carry curved bows,
experts in every form of combat. For they do not
trace the furrow with the plough, cleaving the farm-lands,
nor do they cut through the sea with oars aboard ships,
nor do they feed the race of cattle in the pastures. But
from birth,

(1045) as children, they concern themselves with bows and
horses,
and always over this echoing land there is the noise of
javelins or arrows, and everywhere the running of
storm-swift horses,
racing. For it is not customary for them to take their

supper before showering their heads with sweat from the
strains of battle.

(1050) They feed on the prey of a livelihood won by the spear.
Nevertheless, though they are relentless in battle,
the sword of the Ausonian king has tamed them.

If sweet longing to learn of the Persians also grips you,
with eloquent words I would tell you of their race too,
(1055) and of the course of the ever-flowing rivers and of the
paths of the mountains.

For they alone have the most kingly race of Asia,
and they alone laid boundless wealth in their homes,
when they sacked Maeonia and Sardis.

Golden is the armour worn on the flesh of those men,
(1060) and golden are the bits in the mouths of their horses,
and with gold they adorn the shoes on their feet.

For so immense is their wealth. Well, all
the land of Persia is surrounded by great mountains,
and its path reaches to the south of the Caspian Gates,
(1065) going even as far as the sea of the same name.

They inhabit it in three distinct areas, some in the north
situated near the shady mountains of the bow-carrying
Medes,
some in the interior, and some to the south as far as the
sea.

First are the Sabae, after them are the Pasargadae, and
nearby the Tasci,
(1070) and others, who inhabit various parts of the Persian land.
Many rivers make this region very fertile,
turning this way and that with their winding waters.

On one side is the great Coros, on the other the Choaspes,
drawing Indian water, and flowing beside the country of
the Sousans.

(1075) On its banks you would see beautiful agate,
lying like marbles on the ground, which the torrents
of the stormy river sweep down from the rock.

What's more, ever rejoicing in the warm wind,
fruits flourish densely packed against one another.

(1080) Now consider the remaining³¹⁶ path of Asia to the east.
For nearby the coast of the land comes to an end.

So, then, by the Persian wave of the Ocean,
the Carmani dwell, beneath the rising sun.

They occupy a land in two parts not far from Persia,

(1085) some by the sea, and others inland.

To the east of them extends the land of the Gedrosi,
neighbours of the yawning Ocean, to the east of whom
dwell the southern Scythians beside the Indus River,
which flows opposite the Erythraean Sea,

(1090) furiously driving its swift stream directly south,
beginning first from the windy Caucasus.

It has two mouths, and it runs past an island in the
middle,

an island which the inhabitants call Patalene.

That river divides the tribes of many peoples:

(1095) towards the descent of the setting sun
the Oreitae and the Aribae and the Arachotae in their
tunics of linen,

³¹⁶λοιπὸν Tsavari: λεπτόν Priscian 991: *reliquas*. Paraph.: ὑπόλοιπον.

and the Satraedae, and all those beside the valley of
Parpanisus,
together with very well all those alike who are called
Ariani,
who do not inhabit a fair land, but one filled
(1100) with fine sand and rough with thickets.
But, nevertheless, the means are sufficient for those
living there.
For the land provides for them a pure wealth of a
different kind.
For everywhere there is the stone of red coral,
and everywhere, moreover, beneath the rocks, the veins
(1105) bear the fair stone of the golden and blue sapphire,
from the mining of which they have the merchandise to
live on.
To the east stretches the lovely land of the Indians,
last of all, by the edges of Ocean.
The sun scorches this land with its first rays
(1110) as it rises over the workings of the blessed ones and
mankind.
For this reason the inhabitants of the land are
dark-skinned,
divinely sleek, and they bear on their heads
the most luxuriant hair like hyacinths.
Of these men, some mine the sources of gold,
(1115) digging the sand with well-made picks,
some weave webs of linen, and some polish
the silvery sawn-off tusks of elephants.

- Others hunt on the jutting rocks³¹⁷ of mountain-torrents
for the sea-green stone of beryl or sparkling
(1120) adamant or green-glancing jasper
or again the glittering stone of pure topaz
and sweet softly flushing amethyst.
For the land fosters wealth of every kind for the men,
watered here and there by ever-flowing rivers.
- (1125) Yes, even the meadows are always thick with leaves.
for on one side millet grows, and on the other, in turn,
there flourish forests of the Erythraean reed.
Consider how I am to describe to you the shape and the
rivers,
and the windy mountains and the peoples of the land
itself.
- (1130) Well, then, it is fixed on four sides,
all of them at an angle, like the shape of a rhombus.
So, on the west the waters of the neighbouring Indus
cut off the land, and in the south there is the swell of the
Erythraean sea,
and the Ganges is to the east, and the Caucasus toward
the pole of the Bears.
- (1135) Many fortunate men inhabit this land,
not all of them living under the same name, but
distinguished into separate groups. So, near the boundless
river Indus,
are the Dardanees, where the Acesine, which flows in a
crooked course from the rocks, is received by the
Hydaspes, navigable to ships.

³¹⁷προβολῆσιν Tsavari: προμολῆσιν Priscian: *ripis*

- (1140) After them there follows a third, the silver-eddy
Cophe.
Amidst these rivers there dwell the Sabae and the Toxili,
and next the Scodri. And following on there are the
wild³¹⁸ tribes,
of the Peucales. After them the servers of Dionysus,
the Gargaridae, dwell, there where the Hypanis and the
(1145) divine Magarsus, most turbulent of rivers, bear the
marvellous progeny of gold. Starting from the mountain
of Emodus,
they flow toward the country of the Ganges,
which reaches to the south along the borders of the
Colian land.
This, indeed, juts out into the deep-eddy Ocean.
(1150) It is steep, inaccessible to swift birds.
For this reason men call it the 'Land Without Birds'.
There is a certain spectacular place beside the
fair-flowing Ganges,
a place which is revered and sacred, where Bacchus once
walked in anger, when the delicate fawn-skins
(1155) of the Lenae were turned into shields, and their thyrsi
were changed into iron, and their belts and the tendrils
of the twisting vine into the coils of serpents,
then when in their folly they slighted the festival of the
god.
For this reason they call it the Nysaeon path,
(1160) and they duly³¹⁹ established with their sons all his rites.

³¹⁸ ἄγρια Tsavari: ἄσπετα Priscian: *Peucalique feroces* Paraph.: ἄγρια ἢ βάρβαρα

³¹⁹ κόσμῳ Tsavari: κισσῷ

He himself, when he destroyed the tribes of the dark
 Indians,
 ascended the mountains of Emodus, below the foot of
 which flows the mighty stream of the eastern Ocean.
 Here he planted³²⁰ two pillars near the borders of the
 land,
 (1165) and exultant he returned to the waters³²¹ of the Ismenus.
 So many are the most eminent men on the earth,
 but others wander here and there over the lands
 in their thousands, whom no-one could tell of clearly,
 no mortal. Only the gods are able to do all with ease.
 (1170) For they rounded off the first foundations
 and revealed the deep swell of the measureless sea.
 They marked out all that is immutable in life,
 distinguishing the stars, and allotting each
 a share of the sea and the deep earth.
 (1175) For this reason each land has been allotted a nature of a
 different kind.
 For one is white and shining,
 another is darker, and another has been allotted the
 appearance³²² of both.
 One resembles³²³ the flowers of the red earth of Assyria,
 others are otherwise. For mighty Zeus has conceived it
 thus.
 (1180) So is everything among men diverse.
 Farewell, you countries and islands in the sea,
 waters of Ocean and sacred waves of the deep,

³²⁰ἐρείσας Tsavari: ἐρύσας Avienus: *dederat* Priscian: *erigit* Paraph.: στήσας

³²¹μετὰ χειῦμα κατήλυθεν Tsavari: μέγα χειῦμα κατήλυθεν

³²²λάχε μορφήν Tsavari: ὑπὸ μορφῇ

³²³ἐναλιγκίη Tsavari: ἐναλιγκίου

rivers and springs and wooded mountains.

Now I have run over the swell of the entire sea,

(1185)

and the winding path of the lands. So let me have

from the Blessed Ones themselves an answer worthy of

my hymns.

APPENDIX

Homeric *hapax legomena* in Dionysius of Alexandria's Οἰκουμένης Περιήγησις 174-382

D.	Homer
181 ἐπικλείουσι	<i>Od.</i> 1, 351
182 αὐχμήεσσα	<i>Od.</i> 24, 250
184 γλωχίνι	<i>Il.</i> 24, 274
[186 ἀναπέπταται	<i>Il.</i> 12, 122]
187 ἀγρονόμοι	<i>Od.</i> 6, 106
190 τομήν	<i>Il.</i> 1, 235
194 ἀσταχύων	<i>Il.</i> 2, 148
194 ἀμητοῖο	<i>Il.</i> 19, 223
195 ἀμπέχει	<i>Od.</i> 6, 225
197 μετρηθῆναι	<i>Od.</i> 3, 179
202 πλημυρίς	<i>Od.</i> 9, 486
217 ἀπείριτοι	<i>Od.</i> 10, 195
221 πιοτάτοιο	<i>Il.</i> 9, 573
239 ὀλίζονος	<i>Il.</i> 18, 519
241 εὐβοτος	<i>Od.</i> 15, 406
241 εὐλείμων	<i>Od.</i> 4, 607
257 θεώτερον	<i>Od.</i> 13, 111
262 ναυτιλίας	<i>Od.</i> 8, 253
297 χεῦμα	<i>Il.</i> 23, 561
308 πολυῖππων	<i>Il.</i> 13, 171
353 βασιλεύτατος	<i>Il.</i> 9, 69
354 ἱμερτήν	<i>Il.</i> 2, 751
358 σταχύων	<i>Il.</i> 23, 598
379 μέσφα	<i>Il.</i> 8, 508

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